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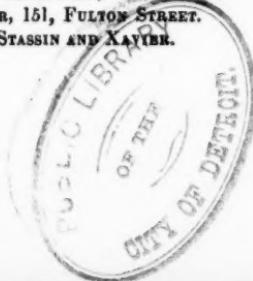
*SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1854.*

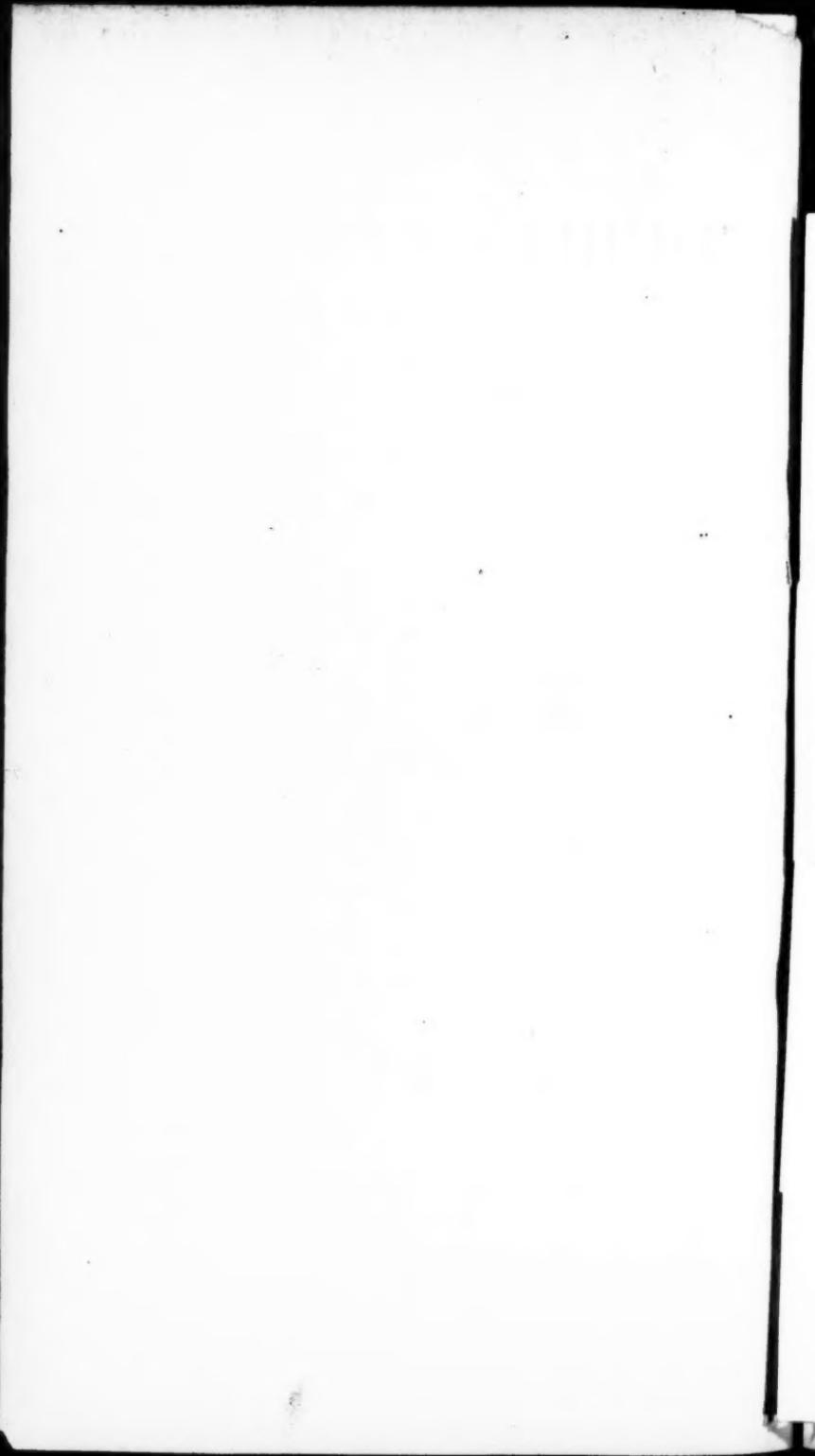


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**ERRATA.**

Page 511 for Lando	<i>read</i> Larido.
" 511 — Quivada	— Quixada.
" 513 — Castello	— Gaztelu.
" 513 — Deva	— Vera.
" 513 — Jasandilla	— Jarandilla.
" 515 — Van Malo	— Van Male.
" 517 — Lando	— London.



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ART I.—*Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time.* By HENRY RICHARD LORD HOLLAND. Edited by his Son, HENRY EDWARD LORD HOLLAND. Vol. I. London : Longman, 1852. Vol. II. 1854.

THE memory of the late Lord Holland is dear to us as the nephew of Fox and the zealous and consistent advocate of the rights of Catholics in the most bigoted times and under the most disheartening circumstances. He was, moreover, a kind and generous man, bountiful to a proverb, and if not the sun, at least the centre around which wit and genius revolved in Holland House. Often and truly have many who were poor in this world's gifts, but rich in genius, said to him with grateful hearts :

O et præsidium et dulce decus meum.

Though neither a great statesman nor a great orator, he was not despicable in either capacity, and especially in the latter he possessed not a little of the traditional quickness of his house in "reply." In "statement" his oratory never surpassed and sometimes scarcely attained to mediocrity. Nor should it be forgotten that the exiled of other lands who had often nothing but their misfortunes to recommend them, found in Lord Holland a generous protector. It is not strange, therefore, that we have felt great reluctance in expressing our opinion of Lord Holland's works when truth and justice alike compel us to condemn them. In this spirit we allowed his "Foreign Reminiscences" to pass without notice, because that volume contained many things of which we could not have spoken but with the strongest reprobation. But now that this second work, in

which all the errors and mistakes which characterized his first, have been repeated, has been published, and we are, in a manner, forced to notice his writings, we feel it to be a duty to express our scorn and contempt for the attack, which his Reminiscences contains, on the conjugal fidelity of the beautiful, affectionate, and unfortunate Queen of Louis XVI. Like all other weak mortals, she had her failings, but there never was a more affectionate and devoted wife than Marie Antoinette. Chastity is to a woman what charity is to a Christian—without it all other virtues are worthless. However beautiful or accomplished a woman may be, without spotless purity she is but a whitened sepulchre, fair to the eye of the body, but filled within with all kinds of filth and abominations.

" 'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity:  
 She that has that is clad in complete steel,  
 And like a quiver'd nymph, with arrows keen,  
 May trace huge forests and unharbour'd heaths,  
 Infamous hills, and sandy perilous wilds,  
 When, through the sacred rays of chastity,  
 No savage fierce, bandit, or mountaineer  
 Will dare to soil her virgin purity.  
 Yea, there where very desolation dwells  
 By grots and caverns shagged with horrid shades,  
 She may pass on with unblemished majesty.  
 No goblin, or smart fairy of the mine,  
 Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity.  
 So dear to heaven is saintly chastity,  
 That when a soul is found sincerely so,  
 A thousand liveried angels lackey her,  
 Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,  
 And in clear dream and solemn vision,  
 Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,  
 Till oft converse with heavenly habitants  
 Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,  
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,  
 And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,  
 Till all be made immortal : but when lust  
 By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,  
 But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,  
 Lets in defilement to the inward parts,  
 The soul grows clotted by contagion,  
 Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose  
 The divine property of her first being."\*

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\* Comus.

Lord Holland's views are all so grovelling, so purely and entirely of this world, that even on the subject of woman's chastity he cannot raise his standard of morality above the conventionalities of Belgravia. Like theft among the Lacedemonians, the sin of impurity does not consist in the act, but in being detected. And in this miserable spirit he mocks with excuses the unhappy queen whom he falsely charges with the abominable crime of conjugal infidelity. There is but one defence for a woman charged with such a crime, and that is innocence, complete and perfect. If Lord Holland's foul aspersion of Marie Antoinette—that she was guilty of criminal intercourse with the Duc de Coigny and others—could be sustained by one particle of evidence, his palliation of "*her amours*" on the ground that they were not *numerous*, *scandalous*, or *degrading*, is not one whit better than that of the lady, who excused herself for having given birth to an illegitimate child, because it was "a very little one." What must be the standard of morality, according to which a married lady, a mother, and a queen, may be guilty of amours with various men which are neither *scandalous* nor *degrading*? Our ideas are entirely different. Right and wrong, vice and virtue, do not depend on the publicity of the action, or on the opinions of the fashionable world. An adulteress is degraded—is utterly and irretrievably degraded, no matter how seldom or how secretly she may have sinned. She is degraded in the eyes of all who know her to have been guilty of that damning sin, in the eyes of her very paramour, and, above all, in her own eyes, and in the eyes of Almighty God. All the waters of the ocean could not wash out that damning spot from her guilty and degraded soul. From God she may obtain mercy and pardon, but amongst virtuous women she has voluntarily made herself an outcast and a reprobate. Not only charity, but common justice requires that such a charge should not be preferred, but on the gravest and clearest evidence. A man who is not malicious, as Lord Holland certainly was not, must have an enormous appetite for scandal, when he employs himself in making history out of the infamous gossip of servants' tea parties. In all conversation which has for its object the gibbetting of our neighbour's character, the proportion which truth bears to falsehood may be about as one to a thousand. When, therefore, the puzzling problem is presented to us, on such authority, of a noble lady and a queen,

who was withal an attached wife and an affectionate mother, occasionally indulging in criminal intercourse with her own lacqueys, we can only answer in the words of Dr. Parr: “ ‘Tis a lie, Sir;” and that is the solution of it.

Lord Holland appears to have believed that a perfectly virtuous woman was almost as great a curiosity as a black swan. Certainly his *Memoirs* do not contain a detailed notice of any woman, subject or sovereign, whom he does not represent as a bawd. The Queens of France, of Spain, and of Naples, the Princess of Wales, Lady Herbert, Lady Jersey, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and Lady Hamilton, are the chief representatives of the gentler sex in these volumes, and they, if we are to believe his Lordship, only differ in the degree and multiplicity of their amours, for they were all unchaste women. Strange to say, with an obliquity of intellect which is hard to be conceived, Lord Holland, whilst asserting on no evidence at all that Marie Antoinette had given herself up to several lovers, and that Charles IV. of Spain circulated his wife’s infidelities about his own court, which the noble author thinks *too dramatic* to be true, expresses himself doubtfully as to the existence of an amour between Nelson and Lady Hamilton.\* Had she been a queen, his Lordship would not have been troubled by any such scruples.

The volumes of Lord Holland which we have under review may be said to be entirely occupied by two subjects—female morality and politics. We do not mean that Lord Holland has made any such division of his labours, or that the former of these topics was even prominently before his own mind when he commenced his *Memoirs*, but simply that they constitute the most prominent features of his writings. Indeed, the ladies are introduced on account of their connexion with politics, politicians, or warriors, but at the same time it is not less true that the tone of Lord Holland’s work is calculated not to lessen, but utterly to destroy our faith in woman’s virtue, especially if she has the misfortune to be a noble or a royal lady. Following the division of topics which we have just indicated, we shall, first, examine how far Lord Holland’s opinions and statements are to be trusted on the subject of female chastity; and secondly, we shall briefly indicate his sentiments

\* Lord Holland’s *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 30. “ His (Nelson’s) amour with Lady Hamilton (if amour it was),” &c.

regarding politics and the character of some of the leading politicians with whom he was acquainted in his early days, when George the Third was king.

The surest way to test the truthfulness of Lord Holland's opinions and statements on the subject of female chastity, will be to select a case with which he professes to be thoroughly acquainted, and the minutest circumstances of which he fully details. His account of the connection which existed between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales will furnish us with such a case, and will at the same time afford us an opportunity of vindicating the fame of that lady from Lord Holland's unjust aspersions. On this subject he betrays an amount of credulity and ignorance, as well as a looseness of morality, which we did not expect to find in the writings of a nobleman, who was not deficient in abilities, in information, or in the polished conventionalities which, even in the absence of higher and better motives, make spotless purity the highest charm of woman. Sentiment is substituted for religion, and though it be a very bad substitute, yet is it infinitely better than to leave the intercourse between the sexes to be regulated, as amongst the Mahomedans, by beastly passion alone. Lord Holland has so intertwined in his narrative the union of the Prince of Wales with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and his subsequent marriage with the Princess of Brunswick, that in order to allow him to tell his own story, it will be in some measure necessary to give a few details regarding the latter event, which will be found to be not uninteresting in themselves, independently of their connection with the subject which we are about to investigate.

"It was," he says, "about this period, 1787, that the Prince was induced, by the artifices of his father, and against the better judgment of Mr. Fox, to promise parliament never again to incur any debts. When fresh debts had accumulated, this incautious promise seemed a bar to all further application to Parliament. Mr. Pitt so considered, or affected so to consider it; and either the Court or the ministry, possibly the latter only, suggested a marriage as an indispensable condition to the only effectual removal of the Prince's embarrassments, viz., an augmentation of his revenue. Among the unmarried Princesses who awaited his choice, the Princess of Brunswick, and the Princess of Mecklenburg, afterwards Queen of Prussia, were the two who most naturally occurred, if they were not actually submitted to him by the Government. In beauty and youth the latter had infinitely the advantage. Perhaps those very qualities were objections in the mind of the adviser, by whose sug-

gestions he was at that time most guided. Lady Jersey is supposed to have promoted a *public* and legal marriage as a security against any renewal of intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a purpose which it did not accomplish. And she may have decided his preference of a woman of indelicate manners, indifferent character, and not very inviting appearance, from a hope that disgust with a wife would secure constancy to a mistress. All well-informed persons agree that the preference of the Princess of Brunswick was the choice of Lady Jersey and Lady Harcourt; though some suppose that a reluctance to gratify his mother by raising a second Princess of Mecklenburgh to the throne of England, was an ingredient in that determination."

When the Prince told his father that he had chosen for his bride the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, George the Third replied that to his own niece he could make no objection, but recommended his son to make more circumstantial enquiries about her person and manners.

"The Prince pretended to have done so, though his brothers, or indeed, *every young English traveller in Germany* would, if asked, have told him that even in that country, where they were not at that period very nice about female delicacy, the character of his intended bride was exceedingly loose.....Unfavourable reports of the person, and yet more of the manners and character of the destined bride, came pouring in from Germany after the articles were signed, and it was too late to recede. The latter circumstance had allayed all Lady Jersey's disposition to soften or contradict; and it is most probable that she encouraged and exaggerated such gossip and scandal. If the Prince gave any credit to them, all that he afterwards heard or suspected must have appeared a natural sequel to his bride's early life."—Vol. ii. pp. 142—147.

No amount of scoundrelism will render a tale improbable which relates to George IV., who was undoubtedly the most immoral man in Europe. But still we cannot believe that at the time when he selected the Princess of Brunswick for his bride he believed her to be an immoral character, and thus to have deliberately resolved to propagate his race through a notoriously infamous woman. That he was averse to the fulfilment of his marriage contract, is, however certain, and we have the testimony of the Duke of Bedford, one of the two unmarried dukes who supported the prince at the ceremony, that he was so drunk as to be scarcely able to be kept from falling:— "And few days had passed before many coarse and indelicate strictures on the person and behaviour of his bride

were currently reported, as coming directly from the Prince, in every society in London."

This hatred of the prince for his wife never changed, and when, in 1820, on the death of Napoleon, some officious courtier ran up to him (then George IV.) to apprise him of the news in these words, "Sir, your greatest enemy is dead!" he exclaimed, "Is she, by God?"—Vol. ii. pp. 147—9.

We have no intention of polluting our pages by a detail of the various charges which were preferred at different times against the consort of George IV. The first of these was made as early as 1806 by Sir J. and Lady Douglas, the latter of whom according to Lord Holland was supposed to be actuated by motives of jealousy. They made affidavits, charging the Princess of Wales with adultery, with pregnancy during her separation from her husband, and with the concealment of the delivery of a male child. This occurred during the ministry of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, and before the former, then Prime Minister, the Prince laid the affidavits impugning the conduct of his wife. With the consent and probably at the suggestion of the king, Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer, who were all cabinet ministers were named Lords Commissioners to investigate the charges against Her Royal Highness. Mr. Fox declined being named of the commission. The Solicitor General Sir Samuel Romilly was the legal adviser of the commissioners. The report made by the commissioners is matter of history. It acquits the princess of the main charge, and there it should have stopped. It does not do so, but dwells on levities and indiscretions for which there could be no legal punishment. The commissioners very properly investigated these things so far as they could be considered evidence of the criminal actions of which the princess was accused, but judges who acquitted her of all legal guilt had no right to animadvert on indiscretions which constituted no crime in the eye of the law. The answer of the princess was ably written by Lord Eldon, Mr. Percival and Mr. Plomer. It prayed that Her Royal Highness might be restored to the comfort and honour of His Majesty's presence. The king referred the matter to his ministers the majority of whom adhered to "the Report." Mr. Grenville and Lord Sidmouth thought justly that after so broad an

acquittal of all criminal charge, the commissioners had exceeded their power in speaking of levities at all, and they consequently wished the cabinet to decline giving any opinion whatever. Ultimately, however, the whole cabinet, except Mr. Wyndham, acquiesced in the decision of the majority, which was to the effect that the king should admit the Princess of Wales to his presence; but should convey to Her Royal Highness, through the Lord Chancellor, a strong admonition to be in future more circumspect and discreet in her behaviour. Lord Holland says that when this decision was arrived at, the Chancellor made some remarks unfit to be recorded, but which very forcibly exemplified the strange incidents of public life by which it became the duty of Lord Erskine to reprimand a lady of high station for levity and indecorum.

We are not sorry to turn from the Princess of Wales, who, in spite of the injustice and the persecutions to which she was subjected, must ever be regarded as a "very worthless woman," to Mrs. Fitzherbert, against whom the breath of calumny never uttered a charge except in the matter of her connexion with the Prince of Wales. On the nature of this connexion her character must depend. She must have believed herself to be either his wife or his concubine. In the latter hypothesis she was an infamous character. The law of God does not allow a woman to prostitute herself to a prince any more than to a peasant. If Mrs. Fitzherbert was not married, and validly married in her own opinion, and according to the teaching of the Catholic Church of which she was a member, she was a habitual fornicator and adulteress. These are coarse expressions, but when the deformity of vice is attempted to be covered over by silken phrases—when men are told that a married lady may indulge in amours, which, provided they be not too numerous, are neither scandalous nor degrading—we conceive ourselves to be justified in consulting, in the selection of our language, plainness and directness of speech even at the expense of conventional elegance.

Mrs. Fitzherbert's case involves these two questions: First, Did any marriage ceremony take place between that lady and the Prince of Wales? Secondly, was that ceremony sufficient to constitute a valid marriage according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church of which Mrs. Fitzherbert was a member? We do not pause to consider

the prudence or propriety on Mrs. Fitzherbert's part, of contracting a clandestine and illegal marriage with the heir to the throne. Fox in a letter to the prince tells him truly that to marry Mrs. Fitzherbert would be a desperate measure. "In the first place," he says, "you are aware that a marriage with a Catholic throws the prince contracting such marriage out of the succession to the crown. The king not feeling for you as a father, ought the Duke of York professedly his favourite, and likely to be married agreeably to the king's wishes; the nation full of its old prejudices against Catholics, and justly dreading all disputes about succession; in all these circumstances your enemies might take such advantage as I shudder to think of.....If there should be children from the marriage, I need not say how much the uneasiness as well of yourselves as of the nation, must be aggravated." Fox urges many other arguments to dissuade the prince from this marriage, which must have occurred to his own mind even without a prompter: but the more powerful the reasons are, the more desperate the risk which the prince incurred, so much the more indisputably would a marriage which the whole Catholic Church must regard as valid, establish the determination of the lady to surrender herself to no man but her wedded husband.

First, that a marriage ceremony did take place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the prince cannot be doubted. Lord Holland says, that the manifest repugnance of the prince to marry the Duchess of Brunswick "was attributed by many at the time to remorse at the recollection of a similar ceremony which had passed between him and Mrs. Fitzherbert. The subsequent conduct of all parties, and the treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert by all branches of the royal family, even when separated from the prince, have long since confirmed the suspicion. In truth, that there was such a ceremony is now (I transcribe my narrative in 1836) not matter of conjecture or inference, but of history. Documents proving it (long in the possession of Mrs. Fitzherbert's family) have been since June 1833, actually deposited by agreement between the executors of George IV. (the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton), and the nominees of Mrs. Fitzherbert (Lord Albemarle and Lord Stourton), at Coutts's bank, in a sealed box bearing this superscription, 'The property of the Earl of Albemarle; but not to be opened by him

without apprising the Duke of Wellington,' or words to that purport."—Vol. II. pp. 123, 124.

The circumstances which induced the prince to hazard the desperate step of marrying Mrs. Fitzherbert, are thus explained by Lord Holland, (pp. 125-6.) "In 1784, or early in 1785, the Prince of Wales was so deeply enamoured of Mrs. Fitzherbert, that he was ready to make *any sacrifice* to obtain from that lady favours which she, either from indifference or scruple, persisted in refusing him. He did not conceal his passion, nor *his despair* at her leaving England for the Continent. Mrs. Fox, then Mrs. Armitstead, who was living at St. Anns, has repeatedly assured me that he came down thither more than once to converse with her and Mrs. Fox on the subject, that he *cried by the hour*, that he testified the sincerity and violence of his passion and his *despair*, by the most extravagant expressions and actions, *rolling on the floor, striking his forehead, tearing his hair, falling into hysterics, and swearing that he would abandon the country, forego the crown, sell his jewels and plate, and scrape together a competence to fly with the object of his affections to America.*" This passage proves indisputably that Mrs. Fitzherbert would not consent to become the mistress of the Prince, and that she was determined to have no intimate connection with him, unless he made her his wife. It also proves that he was not blind to the desperate consequences which might follow from such a marriage.

Mrs. Fitzherbert had fled from his importunities to the continent, from which she was induced to return in the autumn or winter of 1785. That the inducement held out to her was a promise of marriage, on the part of the prince, there can be no doubt. Mr. Fox wrote to the prince on the 10th December, 1785, the letter from which we have already quoted a few sentences. In this letter he says, "I was told just before I left town yesterday, that Mrs. Fitzherbert had arrived, and if I had heard only this, I should have felt the most unfeigned joy at an event which I knew would contribute so much to your Royal Highness's satisfaction, but I was told at the same time, that from a variety of circumstances which had been observed and put together, there was reason to suppose that you were going to take the very desperate step, (pardon the expression,) of marrying her at this moment." He then pro-

ceeds, as we have already seen, to point out to the prince the consequences which might result from this marriage. The prince replied in a letter dated Carlton House, Sunday morning, two o'clock, December 11th, 1785. "My dear Charles, your letter of last night afforded me more true satisfaction than I can find words to express, as it is an additional proof to me, (which I assure you I did not want,) of your having that true regard and affection for me, which it is not only the wish, but the ambition of my life, to merit. Make yourself easy, my dear friend. Believe me, the world will now soon be convinced that there not only is, but never was, any grounds for those reports, which of late have been so malevolently circulated." It is almost, if not quite, certain that the marriage had actually taken place at this time, for it is manifest that the lady would not yield to the wishes of the prince on any other condition, and the prince having made up his mind to this desperate measure, was not the man to delay the gratification of his appetites. Mrs. Fitzherbert certainly did not live with the prince until after the marriage ceremony had been performed, had she done so, no ceremony would ever have taken place. We shall have to dwell on this point somewhat more fully a little further on; but whether the marriage had actually taken place when the prince wrote to Fox, or was merely decided on, the conduct of his Royal Highness was equally false and treacherous.

Second, was the ceremony which took place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales sufficient to constitute a valid marriage in the opinion of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, of which she was a member? Those who believe that the lady was actuated by conscientious and virtuous motives in insisting on the ceremony, will have no difficulty in answering the question, and Mr. Fox bears the highest testimony to her character in his letter to the prince. "With respect to Mrs. Fitzherbert," he says, "she is a person with whom I have scarcely the honour of being acquainted, but I hear from *everybody* that her character is irreproachable, and her manners most amiable." Yet he declares in the very next paragraph, "If I were Mrs. Fitzherbert's father or brother, I would advise her not by any means to agree to it, (the marriage,) and to prefer any other species of connection with you, to one leading to so

much misery and mischief." We regret that Lord Holland has thought proper to publish this letter of his uncle, for it certainly leaves a stain on the memory of that great man. Mr. Fox had a perfect right to dissuade the prince from marrying Mrs. Fitzherbert, nay, he was bound to do this as a sincere friend. But he should have urged him to break off all connection with the lady, whom everybody declared to be of a most irreproachable character. It was base and cowardly to advise the prince to make her his mistress instead of his wife. That Mr. Fox would have advised his own daughter or sister to become any man's prostitute we cannot for a moment believe. The more exalted the rank of her paramour, the more flagrantly conspicuous would be her shame, and every honour conferred upon her would be an additional disgrace, because it would be the wages of her degradation. Mr. Fox has, indeed, a due regard for public decorum. "If there was no marriage," he tells the prince, "I conclude your intercourse would be carried on as it ought, in so private a way," &c. The amour should not be carried on in a way which would be scandalous or disgraceful, but according to the gentlemanly and decorous rules of decalogue breaking. This is the way in which a sister or daughter should be prostituted. In fact, the intercourse between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert was at first carried on in the most secret way, and yet Lord Holland tells us, "It was soon obvious to the world that, for some reason or other, the lady was no longer so obdurate as her lover had hitherto represented and found her." But such was the faith entertained of the lady's virtue, that it was universally believed that a marriage ceremony must have taken place between her and the prince. The homely sarcasm of old Sedley, whose daughter Catherine was the mistress of James the Second, is far more noble, putting aside morality altogether, than the cold-blooded advice of the great Whig statesman. The sturdy old man did not prefer that species of connection for his daughter, nor did he feel grateful to the king for having ennobled her. On the contrary, he allied himself with the king's son-in-law—William, Prince of Orange—when he invaded England, alleging, as his reason, that as the king had made his daughter a countess, the least he could do was to help to make James's daughter a queen.

In accordance with the sentiments of his uncle, which

unluckily for his fame his nephew has recorded, Lord Holland asserts that it was *not at Mrs. Fitzherbert's request, but at the prince's own repeated and earnest solicitations that any ceremony was resorted to.* According to his lordship, the lady was quite of Mr. Fox's opinion, that any other species of connection would have been preferable to marriage. She decidedly preferred respectable concubinage.

"The exact date and circumstances," Lord Holland informs us, "of that ceremony between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the prince have not come to my knowledge, but the account given of some part of the transaction by Mrs. Fitzherbert herself to a friend of mine, a man of strict veracity, is curious, and I believe correct. It was at the prince's own earnest and repeated solicitations, not at Mrs. Fitzherbert's request, that any ceremony was resorted to. She knew it to be invalid in law; she thought it nonsense, and told the prince so. In proof that such had been her uniform opinion, she adduced a very striking circumstance, namely, that no ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest took place at all, the most obvious method of allaying her scruples, had she had any. I believe therefore, she spoke with truth when she frankly owned 'that she had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, trusted to his honour, and set no value on the ceremony, which he insisted on being solemnized.' It was performed by an English clergyman. A certificate was signed by him, and attested by two witnesses, both, I believe, Catholic gentlemen, and one a near relation to Mrs. Fitzherbert, Mr. Errington. Mrs. Fitzherbert, from mixed feelings of fear and generosity, tore off the names of the witnesses at some subsequent period, lest they should by possibility be involved in any legal penalties for being present at an illegal transaction. Before George the Fourth's accession to the throne, or, as I believe, his appointment to the Regency, the clergyman was dead, (for it was not, as often surmised, Parson Johnes, who married them,) and his name, I understand, remains annexed to the instrument purporting to be a register or certificate of the ceremony. If any corroboration were necessary to substantiate facts of which such proofs are extant, and to which there are so many unexceptionable testimonies, it would be found in the behaviour of Mrs. Fitzherbert on many subsequent occasions, and in the uniform respect and attention which she has received from nearly all the branches of the royal family."—Vol. ii. pp. 140-2.

What a pity it is that Lord Holland has concealed the name of his friend, who was a man of such strict veracity. But at all events, as in the case of the queen of France, Lord Holland has rendered himself accountable by circu-

lating and vouching for the veracity of the story. So then Mrs. Fitzherbert fled to the continent not to avoid the dishonourable proposals of the prince, but because that good moral man insisted on the performance of a ceremony which *he knew* might endanger his accession to the throne. Lord Holland himself states, on the authority of Mrs. Fox, that the prince "did not conceal his passion, nor his despair, at Mrs. Fitzherbert's leaving England for the continent;" that he fell into hysterics, tore out his hair, swearing that he would forego the crown, sell his jewels and plate, and fly to America with the object of his affections. All this was caused, not as ordinary mortals would imagine, because the lady was inexorable, quite the contrary, it was the prince who inexorably insisted on the performance of a marriage ceremony. We confess ourselves to be so stolid as not to see any meaning in these wild ravings of the prince, in which he indulged when Mrs. Fitzherbert went to the continent, except by supposing that the lady had refused all intimate connection with him unless he made her his wife, and that in order to gain her favours he declared his determination to marry her, to give up the crown, and fly to America. The prince was most probably, or rather certainly, insincere in these declarations, but this has nothing to do with the matter, for they indisputably prove that the only condition on which the lady would consent to live with him was that he would make her his wife.

At length Mrs. Fitzherbert returned from the Continent, having "exacted no conditions," and resolved to give herself up to the prince. But that innocent lamb, who had never brought disgrace and ruin upon a woman, *earnestly solicited* her to allow a marriage ceremony to be resorted to. She would not consent, for she declared "that she had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, and that she trusted to his honour." We do not in the least understand what she meant by trusting to his honour, but at all events the prince knew better than to trust to it himself. He "repeated his solicitations;" she declared that she "set no value on the ceremony." But he proved the more obstinate, and finally *insisted* on having the marriage *solemnized*. We are, moreover, required to believe that this is Mrs. Fitzherbert's own account of her marriage with the prince. That is, that a lady, whom everybody declared to be of a most irreproach-

able character, voluntarily, and without any cause whatever, strove to prove herself a strumpet. If Lord Holland had taken the trouble to render his own narrative, even in a slight degree, consistent with itself, he would never have inserted this foul and malignant calumny of his strictly veracious friend.

Every one knows that Mr. Fox distinctly denied in parliament that any marriage had ever taken place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the prince. This denial was not founded, mainly, on the letter which we have already quoted, for Mr. Fox distinctly assured the house that he made the statement "on the word of a prince." He would not have dared to have made this statement in his place in parliament, if he had not been assured at the time that no marriage had taken place, and we willingly acquit him of all complicity in propagating a story which he knew to be false. He was quite incapable of such conduct. It was universally known that Mrs. Fitzherbert had gone to the Continent to avoid being persecuted by the dishonourable proposals of the prince, and we learn from Mr. Fox's letter, as well as from other sources, that the moment her return to England was known, it was believed that she had been induced to come back because his Royal Highness had promised to make her his wife. The prince, therefore, must have known, even without Mr. Fox's warning to this effect, that his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert would be suspected, and consequently that it would be inquired into in parliament. Will any one, therefore, believe that it was the prince, and not the lady, who insisted on the performance of a ceremony, the existence of which he denied to his most trusted friends, and which with almost unparalleled falsehood, baseness, and meanness, he caused the most eminent amongst them to deny, on the very first occasion that it was mentioned in parliament?

What was Mrs. Fitzherbert's conduct as soon as she heard that her marriage with the prince had been denied by Mr. Fox? Was it that of a scarlet woman, who "had given herself up to him, exacted no conditions, trusted to his honour, and set no value on the ceremony which he insisted on having solemnized?" The story, as we have always heard it, is substantially proved by Lord Holland's narrative. He is not an affecting writer, and has therefore very properly omitted the affecting scene which *must*

have occurred between the prince and his wife on their first meeting after this heart-breaking occurrence, which was calculated at once to impeach her honour and to destroy her happiness, became known to her. She would not believe those who told her that the prince had authorized Fox to deny his marriage, until she was shown the newspaper in which his speech was reported. The moment she read it she fell into violent hysterics, from which she was with difficulty recovered. The prince found her in a flood of tears, and when he inquired the cause she pointed to the newspaper. He assured her that he had never denied his marriage, that he had never authorized Mr. Fox to make such a statement. The lady told him that there was but one way in which the injury she had received could be repaired, and her honour vindicated, and this was to have the statement of Mr. Fox publicly contradicted in parliament on the authority of the prince. He endeavoured in vain to appease her anger by any other means; in vain he represented to her the ruin which must ensue if he publicly avowed his marriage with a Catholic. But the lady was inexorable; she insisted that the contradiction should be *immediately* and *publicly* made, and the prince was obliged to comply. She would never afterwards *speak* to Fox, or *remain* in the same company with him. Here is Lord Holland's account of this occurrence.

"There is the strongest reason to suppose that neither the above correspondence, (between the Prince and Mr. Fox,) nor the subsequent assurances, (that no marriage had taken place between the former and Mrs. Fitzherbert,) in whatever terms they were conveyed, were ever acknowledged to Mrs. Fitzherbert by the prince." [He would not have had much difficulty in avowing these things to a woman "who had given herself up to him without exacting any conditions, and who set no value on the ceremony. But to proceed with our extract.] "That lady, by *her conduct on the denial*, and in her subsequent *account* of those transactions, has uniformly implied, first, that a ceremony had taken place previous to Mr. Fox's denial, in which she is indisputably correct; and, secondly, that Mr. Fox had no authority to deny the marriage in the way he did, which false impression she no doubt received from the prince, who was naturally though weakly ashamed to avow his own disregard of truth, by insinuating a want of accuracy, if not of veracity in another. Mrs. Fitzherbert at the time did not disguise her resentment. She would not speak to Mr. Fox. There can be little doubt that *she urged* the prince to take some step to procure a pub-

*lie disavowal of a declaration which he knew to be false, and had, according to all probability, assured her was not authorized by him.* The prince certainly not only abstained from remonstrance or correction of the statement to Mr. Fox himself, but never ventured to hint to him that he had exceeded his authority, or even been indiscreet in alleging it. But he spoke in some such strain to others; and he actually sent the *next morning* for Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey, who was then in high favour with him, and after much preamble, and pacing in a hurried manner about the room, exclaimed, ‘Charles,’ (he always so-called Mr. Fox,) ‘certainly went too far last night. You, my dear Grey, shall explain it,’ and then in *distinct terms*, (as Grey has, since the prince’s death, assured me,) though with *prodigious agitation*, owned that a ceremony had taken place. Mr. Grey observed that Mr. Fox must unquestionably suppose that he had authority for *all* he said, and that if there had been any mistake, it could only be rectified by his Royal Highness speaking to Mr. Fox himself, and setting him right on such matters as had been misunderstood between them. ‘No other person can,’ he added, ‘be employed without questioning Mr. Fox’s veracity, which nobody, I presume, is prepared to do. This answer chagrined, disappointed, and agitated the prince exceedingly, and after some exclamations of annoyance he threw himself on a sofa, muttering, ‘Well, then, Sheridan must say something.’”

Accordingly Sheridan did express the displeasure of the prince at what had passed in parliament. All the circumstances here related manifestly prove that Mrs. Fitzherbert never surrendered herself to the prince until she became his wedded wife. The prince did not dare to tell his wife that he had authorized any person to deny the marriage, which he would readily have done, when a great purpose was to be gained, had the lady looked upon the ceremony as a sham, to the performance of which she had not only been indifferent but opposed. And it was for denying the existence of this farce, “which she thought to be nonsense, and told the prince so,” on which “she frankly owned” afterwards that she “set no value,” because she had given herself up to the prince without exacting any conditions; that the lady would never afterwards speak to Mr. Fox, or remain in the same company with him. It was the denial of this same farce which caused the prince to send for Grey on the very morning after it had been uttered, for the purpose of having it publicly explained away—it was this which wrung from the prince, though with prodigious agitation, an acknowledgment of his marriage—it was this that caused him to be “chagrined,

disappointed, and agitated exceedingly," when Grey refused to make the explanation, and which finally caused him to send Sheridan to the House of Commons publicly to express his displeasure with what had been stated by Fox. No one can doubt that Fox had the authority of the prince for making the statement, and it certainly, therefore, was not the prince, but the lady, who insisted on its immediate and public contradiction. Yet she *uniformly*, and therefore at this very time she thought the ceremony nonsense, *told the prince so*, and adduced a very striking circumstance to her friends to prove that such had been her uniform opinion. We repeat his lordship's words, (vol. ii. p. 141,) "she thought it (the ceremony) nonsense, and told the prince so. In proof that such had been her uniform opinion she adduced a very striking circumstance." It is equally strange that Mrs. Fitzherbert should have been the only one of those who were deeply interested in this matter, who looked upon the ceremony as of no value. Yet according to Lord Holland this must be the case, for the violent agitation of the prince proves that he looked upon it as a very serious affair—so serious, indeed, that "his manifest repugnance to the marriage with the Princess of Brunswick was attributed by many persons, at the time, to remorse, at the recollection of a similar ceremony which had passed between him and Mrs. Fitzherbert"—and his lordship proves the existence of a marriage contract between this lady and the heir to the crown, "by the subsequent conduct of *all* parties, and the treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert by *all* branches of the royal family, even *when separated* from the prince."<sup>\*</sup> He again repeats this argument, which he justly considers of great importance, declaring that if any corroboration were necessary to prove the existence of a marriage contract, "it would be found in the *behaviour* of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and in the *uniform respect* which she has received from nearly all the branches of the royal family."<sup>†</sup> There is no other instance of a mistress, and least of all, the mistress of a royal personage, having been treated with "uniform respect" by all the branches of the royal family, after she had been separated from her paramour. They, in fact, manifested towards her, without the

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\* Vol. ii. p. 123.

† Ibid. p. 142.

smallest abatement, the treatment which is due only to a virtuous wife, whilst, according to Lord Holland, and his strictly veracious friend, she not only believed herself to be an abandoned harlot, but adduced a striking circumstance to prove to others that such was her proper character. So much for Lord Holland's credulity, when the reputation of a lady of "unimpeachable character" is at stake. The "striking circumstance" will give us an insight into his morality, and will, at the same time, show us the amount of information he possessed on a subject which he disposed of so dogmatically.

The striking circumstance is, "That no ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest took place at all, the most obvious method of allaying her scruples, had she had any."\* The meaning of this is, that Mrs. Fitzherbert felt no scruple in living with a man who was not her husband. No one has ever doubted that Mrs. Fitzherbert was a sincere Catholic—that she believed the teaching of the Catholic Church, which declares all fornication to be a sin, hateful and abominable in the eyes of the God of purity and holiness. The meanest and most degraded member of the Catholic Church could not, without abandoning her teaching, embrace the hateful doctrine which Lord Holland attributes to a lady of unimpeachable character. Such opinions make us thank God that we have a church to guide us.

Had Lord Holland not been as ignorant of the teaching of the Catholic Church regarding matrimony, as on the subject of immorality, he would not have been guilty of the absurdity of making Mrs. Fitzherbert adduce, to prove her own infamy, a striking circumstance, which it is simply impossible that she could have used for the purpose mentioned by his lordship. The marriage of Mrs. Fitzherbert with the prince did not take place in a hurried manner. They both had ample time for deliberation. There were present at the ceremony two Catholic gentlemen, one of whom, Mr. Errington, was a near relation of Mrs. Fitzherbert's. The lady herself was intelligent and well-informed in everything which concerned her religious profession. It is, therefore, utterly impossible that she should have been ignorant of a matter which so nearly concerned herself, as the validity of her own marriage. Now the presence of a Catholic priest neither is at present,

\* *Ibid.* p. 141.

nor was it *ever* necessary in England, to render the marriage contract valid, when it takes place between a Protestant and a Catholic. This is no mystery, but a plain fact, which is known to every priest without exception, and to every Catholic layman of the smallest information. It is a matter which has never changed—at no period was the presence of a priest required when one of the contracting parties was a Protestant. How, therefore, could such a false impression have got into Mrs. Fitzherbert's head? But suppose it had got there, it is utterly impossible that she should herself have contracted marriage with a Protestant without previously inquiring whether the presence of a priest was or was not necessary for the validity of such contract. Lord Holland and his strictly veracious informant require us to believe not only this, but, moreover, that after her marriage, and to the end of her life, she continued to live in ignorance of its validity, although every one of her Catholic friends could have removed this false impression. Besides, she regularly attended to the duties prescribed by her Church, and when she went to confession, as it was notorious that she was living with the prince, she must have accused herself of this crime if she had not believed herself to be his wife. Had she so accused herself, she would have been at once informed that her marriage was as valid as if it had been celebrated by the Pope, with the approbation of the king, and that no power on earth could annul it.

The performance, therefore, of the ceremony by a Roman Catholic priest would not have been the most obvious method of allaying Mrs. Fitzherbert's scruples, because it was quite unnecessary, and this being the case, there were many obvious and most cogent reasons to prevent a priest from being present. Any Catholic priest performing the ceremony would, considering the temper of the nation at that time, not only have subjected himself, in case of discovery, to severe punishment, but might, moreover, have caused a general persecution of his co-religionists. Besides, Mrs. Fitzherbert and her friends would justly consider that the royal family and the nation would be more inclined to regard her contract with the prince as a real marriage, and that, in case she had issue, there would be more chance of its being afterwards legalized, if the celebrant were a minister of the established Church, than if he were (to use the language of Protestants) a Popish priest. The truth is,

that the marriage of the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, which took place before a minister of the Church of England and two witnesses, was not only valid in the estimation of that lady, and of every member of the Catholic Church, but moreover, the mode of its celebration was the very best and most prudent which could have been adopted under the circumstances.

Lord Holland, indeed, says that Mrs. Fitzherbert knew the marriage to be invalid in law, and thought it nonsense. Begging his Lordship's pardon, the conclusion is not logical. The Catholic Church does not regard the marriage contract as a mere temporal thing, but as a spiritual sacrament. The State has a right to regulate the temporal effects of marriage, but she cannot institute impediments which would render the contract invalid in conscience and before God. If the State could impose conditions, the non-observance of which would render the subsequent contract void, she could force all her subjects either not to marry, or to adopt her faith. Thus a person might be required to profess the thirty-nine articles in England, and transubstantiation in France, before he could contract a valid marriage. This is no imaginary case; for until a very recent period, two Catholics could not intermarry in England except in a Protestant church, before a Protestant minister, and according to the Anglican ritual. We presume that no person, either Protestant or Catholic, is prepared to acknowledge in the State a disjunctive power of imposing its own faith on its subjects, or of preventing them from marrying validly. It would be rather inconvenient to admit that the Sultan possessed the right, if he pleased to exercise it, of imposing the Koran on his numerous Christian subjects, before they could contract a valid marriage. In the very next sentence after that which contains the statement at the head of this paragraph, Lord Holland asserts that "the most obvious method of allaying Mrs. Fitzherbert's scruples, would have been to have had the marriage ceremony performed by a Roman Catholic priest," but surely his Lordship cannot have imagined that it would have rendered the contract more legal had it been celebrated by a Catholic priest instead of a Protestant parson.

The doctrine of the Catholic Church regarding marriage is plain and simple. She teaches that the marriage contract itself, which is perfected by the words, "I take thee

for my wife," on the part of the man, and "I take thee for my husband," on the part of the woman, or by any other words or signs by which the contracting parties manifest their intention of taking each other for man and wife, is a sacrament. Protestants are apt to fall into the mistake that it is the priest who administers the sacrament to the wedded pair. He does no such thing. As far as the validity of the contract and of the sacrament is concerned, even when the contracting parties are both Catholics, the priest need not utter a word. His presence is only necessary as a *witness* to the contract between the parties. Up to the time of the Council of Trent, the presence of a priest was not necessary for the validity of either the contract or the sacrament. Nor was it by any means to confer the sacrament that the Council enacted a law requiring his presence. The law was made in consequence of the abuses which arose from clandestine marriages, because an immoral person who had married without witnesses could afterwards deny the existence of the contract, and wed another publicly, and in the face of the Church. To prevent this abuse, the Council of Trent enacted that the parish priest of one of the contracting parties, or some other priest deputed by him, and two other witnesses should, *for the future* (in *post-ternum*) be present (*praesente parocho*) at the marriage contract. The presence of the two other witnesses is required exactly in the same way as that of the parish priest. The law is simply that marriage should be contracted in the presence of three witnesses, one of whom should necessarily be the parish priest. Nor was this law made at once obligatory even on Catholics. By an ordinance of the Council it was not to have effect in *any parish* until thirty days after it had been published there. This allowed a large discretion to each bishop with regard to the time of its publication in his diocess, and, in fact, it is not long since it has been introduced into England. But it does not, and never did apply to any marriage in these countries, where one of the parties is not a Catholic. Neither in such marriages which are called mixed, nor in those contracted between parties, neither of which belong to the Catholic Church, is the presence of any priest required for the validity of either the contract or the sacrament. It is not even necessary that the contracting parties should *know* that marriage is a sacrament. The sacrament exists wherever Christians marry as Christ intended; and if they be pro-

perly disposed they will receive grace to live happily together, and to bring up their children in the fear and love of God. Mrs. Fitzherbert's marriage was, therefore, perfectly valid, both as a contract and as a sacrament, in the eyes of the whole Catholic Church, and to imagine that she alone, of all those who professed the same faith, should look upon it as invalid, is monstrously absurd. Neither the Pope nor the whole Church could have annulled it, nor allowed her to marry another. But it was illegal! Why, so was the whole Catholic religion at the same period. It was, not very long ago, unlawful to celebrate Mass, but the sacrifice was not therefore invalidly offered. To say that Mrs. Fitzherbert considered the marriage ceremony to be nonsense because it was illegal, at a time when the penal code against Catholics—and especially that part of it which regarded matrimony—was in full operation, is about as reasonable as to prove that she did not believe in transubstantiation, because the law declared it to be damnable and idolatrous.

We now take up our second topic which relates to Lord Holland's opinion on polities and politicians. As far as regards domestic policy Lord Holland's views were large, liberal, and benevolent. He was at all times, and under all circumstances, a strenuous advocate for the emancipation of the white slave at home as well as of the black slave in the colonies, and by his votes and speeches contributed in no small or mean degree to the accomplishment of these great objects.

Lord Holland's foreign politics seem to have consisted, in a great degree, in hatred of all constituted authority, and in a consequent desire to see it overthrown. He appears to have embraced in all its integrity, the opinion which is so popular amongst Englishmen, that self-government is not only the most perfect in theory, but moreover that it is practically the best at all times and in all countries. It is really ludicrous to hear us congratulating each other on "the progress of free institutions" when the people (this is the name we give them so long as they confine themselves to foreign countries, if they did the same thing amongst ourselves we would call them rebels and hang them) take up arms against constituted authority. We forget that our own government can be called popular only in a very limited sense, the great majority being governed by the will of others. "You make a lady," a

foreigner once remarked to ourselves when we were dis-  
canting on the horrors of despotism, "one of the three  
estates of the realm, and yet you would not allow her to  
vote at a borough election." We are ardent in our  
admiration of free institutions, we wish to see them intro-  
duced wherever the people are fit for them; but we do not  
think that they are suited to all times and circumstances.  
The first essential requisite for self-government is that the  
people should know how to subdue themselves, otherwise  
the majority will inevitably persecute the minority, and  
the legislation will not be for the common weal, but for  
the purpose of exalting one faction and destroying  
another. We would prefer the despotism (if it must be so  
called) of Louis XVI. to the popular government of the  
revolutionary clubs which succeeded to it. We have no  
notion of entering into a discussion on the merits of the  
different forms of government, but shall content ourselves  
with saying that each of them may be good or bad—that the  
selection greatly depends on circumstances, and that the  
form of government most in accordance with the temper  
and circumstances of the people for whom it is intended is  
the best, because under it they will be most happy.

We make these remarks for the purpose of protesting  
against Lord Holland's estimate of those eminent states-  
men who considered themselves bound at all hazards to  
*oppose* the principles and progress of that French Revolu-  
tion which has rendered the end of the eighteenth and the  
beginning of the nineteenth century so memorable an  
epoch in the world's history. Amongst those who  
espoused or opposed the principles of that revolution, the  
name of Edmund Burke, must ever remain pre-eminently  
conspicuous. Whatever were his faults of temper, what-  
ever the overstrained views into which he occasionally  
allowed himself to be betrayed, he is, whether we consider  
power of reasoning, beauty of style or fertility of illustra-  
tion, far the most eminent of those who have written on  
the subject. Although Lord Holland calls his reflections  
on the French Revolution by the contemptuous name of  
"Mr. Burke's pamphlet," few polemical works have ever  
produced, a more sudden, a more profound, or a more  
lasting impression on the minds of those to whom it was  
addressed. The following is his Lordship's opinion of  
Burke's motives and conduct on this momentous ques-  
tion.

"His intemperate view of the French Revolution is well known. Its effect on the political party to which he belonged, and of which the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox were the leaders, was to dissolve that connexion, and ultimately to unite the Duke of Portland and his immediate friends and followers with the administration which he had, in conjunction with Mr. Fox, for nearly ten years opposed. ....Till the ecclesiastical revenues were suppressed, Burke was far from disapproving the French Revolution....The seizure of the property of the clergy in France, might then excite alarm in breasts less predisposed to sensibility on such subjects. It was, in the judgment of many, an outrageous violation of property ; when, therefore, it professed to be the result of a philosophy which denied the usefulness of all ecclesiastical institutions, rather than the desperate resource of an exhausted exchequer, it suggested a train of apprehensions in the mind of Mr. Burke, who, from the habitual tenor of his opinions, was prepared to receive such impressions. He was too, as rational friends of liberty are apt to be, a supporter of aristocracy, in the favourable sense of that word.....With all the extent of knowledge, and all the depth of thought, which he could apply to more important subjects, he was on them as in trifles, equally peremptory, extravagant, impetuous, and overbearing. His principles led him to condemn the French Revolution, his temper to discard *all candour* and moderation in speaking of those who promoted or approved of it. Accidental circumstances conspired with his natural violence to direct his alarms at its progress to his own country, and to convert what at first appeared a speculative censure of a foreign event into distrust and suspicion of those with whom he had hitherto acted. It was not long before he charged many of them with disaffection, and united himself and some few who followed him, with those whom he and they had constantly opposed. He shortly afterwards made up his mind to the necessity of involving the governments of England and of the rest of Europe in a war of aggression against France, and of extermination against those principles of resistance which he had frequently and warmly defended, to which our constitution owes its stability, if not its origin, and on the acknowledgement of which all free governments whatever must ultimately depend.....Burke's ill-humour broke out on the first mention of the French Revolution in the House of Commons by Sheridan. It was stifled but not extinguished, by the temper and moderation of Mr. Fox ; but it blazed out afterwards, on the question of the Canada Bill in a way that made it manifest to friends and foes, and though it grieved the one and in some senses gratified the other, was acknowledged by both to be unfeeling and disgusting. I was present at that painful scene; to me Burke appeared all fury and unreasonableness ; but perhaps I was too young to be a competent judge, and too affectionately attached to Mr. Fox to be an impartial one. More than one person present, however, whose partialities, at least political partialities, leant to-

Burke, assured me that they were touched by the tenderness and affection of Mr. Fox to an old friend, and hurt and disgusted by the coarseness and virulence of Mr. Burke.....Burke from that time had no intercourse with the Whigs, but for the purpose of disuniting them. ‘It is hard,’ said Sheridan on some occasion in 1793, ‘that he whom we had drummed out of the regiment as a deserter, should be lurking within our lines as a spy.’ Mischiefous as his conduct was, I acquit him of dishonesty. He had, indeed, little of that noble pride or dignified affectation, (sic) which disdains to reap all the fruits in private advantage, to which public opinions and connexions might help, or services entitle; but the hope of such advantage did not bias his opinions or his actions. He would, perhaps, have judged better for his fame, had he accepted no pension; but though that pension was the reward of his conduct, his conduct, I am convinced, was not actuated by the hope of attaining it. If his gratitude somewhat softened, it did not entirely suppress his subsequent disapprobation of those from whom he had accepted it. On the whole, if greatness consists in comprehension of mind and fertility of genius, rather than in wisdom of design and judgment in action,—and if, by goodness, we mean rectitude of intention and disinterestedness of conduct, rather than justice, affection or moderation,—Burke may pass for a good and great man. His chief defect was an impetuous and uncontrollable temper. This disfigured his manners, clouded his judgment, and sometimes corrupted his heart; yet none could sacrifice more to public honour and private friendship....Examine his motives, he might pass for a patriot; look to his opinions, and, with all his powers, he was almost a bigot.” \*

Regarding the scene which occurred in the House of Commons during the memorable debate in the course of which Burke separated himself from Fox and the Whigs, we think Lord Holland does not even do justice to the memory of his uncle. Fox’s conduct and temper extorted the admiration of Mr. Pitt. The great Whig statesman was affected even to tears, and when Burke said that he regretted the breaking up of an old friendship; he remarked, almost sobbing, “there never was any.” But all the rest of Lord Holland’s censure is undeserved and unjust.

It is quite true that Burke had experienced ill-treatment and ingratitude at the hands of the Whigs, both in his own person and in that of his son, but the man must be blinded by prejudice who could suppose that “dishonesty” or “private advantage” influenced his conduct

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\* *Memoirs*, vol. i, pp. 4-13.

or writings regarding the French Revolution. Sincerity is stamped in every line he wrote, and on every word he uttered on that subject. Lord Holland acquits him of these motives, but in language which implies that his character stands in need of defence. He thinks that he would have consulted better for his fame had he not accepted a pension as the reward of his conduct. Fortunately this charge was preferred during the lifetime of Burke, and to it we are indebted for one of the noblest pieces of prose composition ever written in any language. He has rendered this imputation, which would otherwise have been long since forgotten, immortal by mentioning it in that matchless vindication of his character, which he has left in "A Letter to a Noble Lord." Not even Plato's defence of the memory of Socrates, can bear comparison with it. Had Burke never written anything else, it would not only vindicate his fame, but render it immortal.

His conduct was certainly "mischievous" to the Whig party for a time, and would therefore have been base had it been dictated by private advantage. But there are occasions when an honest man must break with his party, when he conceives its views to be opposed to the interests of mankind, or to the unchangeable principles of truth and justice. A man cannot sacrifice his principles without sacrificing his honour and his conscience. There are also occasions on which he must change his opinions, and these are, when, on solid grounds, he believes them to be wrong. It is arrogant folly for any man to suppose that he cannot err in his political doctrines, and it is equally mischievous and mean in him to adhere to them after he has discovered them to be false. It is made a charge, not indeed against the honesty, but against the political sagacity of Burke, that he changed his opinions with regard to the character of the French Revolution after the seizure of the property of the clergy, on the express ground that all ecclesiastical establishments were useless. We are so far from finding fault with Burke for changing his opinions, that we are astonished to discover how any man could view without horror, the fiendish conduct of the French Revolutionists. If ever the powers of hell were unchained, and allowed to take possession of the souls of men, it was at this period. Thousands of men went to bed at night with the ordinary feelings of humanity, and awoke in the

morning screaming for blood. But to charge Burke, of all men, with having been betrayed into a change of opinion by want of "political sagacity, wisdom of design, and judgment in action," is not only monstrous, but ludicrous, for his opinions are to this day not only quoted with respect, but looked up to almost as oracles by statesmen of all parties. His works are indisputably the greatest repository of political wisdom which our language contains. As an effective debater, he was not only inferior to those great luminaries, Fox and Pitt, but to many minor lights amongst both Whigs and Tories;—he possessed not the tenderness and affection of the former, nor the splendid elocution of the latter, but he surpassed them all in the wisdom of his political views, and in the sagacity and eloquence with which he enforced them in his writings.

On the subject of the French Revolution, in particular, regarding which Burke is accused with so great a want of political wisdom, he was not only at once joined by the Duke of Portland, and a large section of the Whigs, but many of those who at first opposed him were, by the rapid course of events, speedily converted to his opinions. Amongst these we may mention that eminent statesman, Mr. Wyndham, of Norfolk, who, during the Grenville administration, in 1806, was the colleague of Fox up to the time of his death, and afterwards of Lord Holland himself. "On the first publication of Mr. Burke's pamphlet," Lord Holland informs us, "he condemned the principles and ridiculed the performance with full as much freedom as the laws of long friendship could admit. He had, too, been a warm admirer of the French Revolution at its commencement. He had even urged Mr. Fox to come over to France, as it was right such glorious scenes should have the sanction of an eminent Englishman, attached to the principles of liberty." But in 1791 his mind was wavering, and in 1792 he condemned the Revolution. "He sighed for the restoration of the priesthood, the nobility and absolute monarchy of France, and he was amongst the first to plunge the country in war for that most unwarrantable object."\* Yet Lord Holland acknowledges that Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Fox were, in temper, manner, tastes, and pursuits, admirably adapted to one another. A disdain, or rather loathing of all cant

\* *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 16 21.

and hypocrisy, was a prominent feature in the character of both. Mr. Wyndham, indeed, was neither so easy in his disposition, nor so affectionate or gentle in his nature, but he had in appearance at least the same frankness and fearlessness of character, the same, and even greater readiness to converse on all subjects of literature and philosophy. He had even a more active, though not an equally powerful, spirit of inquiry than Mr. Fox.\*

\* Indeed, when we remember the composition of the coalition ministry, in 1806, of which Mr. Fox was the chief ornament, and of which Lord Holland became a member on the death of his uncle, we cannot but be astonished at the manner in which he speaks of the promoters of the war with France. When Mr. Pitt resigned office, because he could not carry out the promise which he made, at least implicitly, to the Catholics at the time of the Union, on account of the opposition of the king, nor carry on the war against France on account of the state of the Finances; the Speaker, Mr. Addington, became Prime Minister. Of the former ministry, the most distinguished members, Mr. Pitt, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Dundas, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Canning, were in favour of the Irish Catholics. The new premier, Mr. Addington, was an uncompromising opponent of the Catholic claims. Yet it was with this man, then Lord Sidmouth, and his friends, that Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox coalesced in 1806. Again, when Addington made peace with France, "Mr. Wyndham, in the Commons, employed all his wit and eloquence; and Lord Grenville, in the Lords, all his official and parliamentary knowledge, which was prodigious, as well as his oratory, which was considerable, to discredit the treaty."<sup>†</sup> On the contrary, "Mr. Fox supported the peace in the noblest and frankest manner." Yet Lord Grenville was the head, and Mr. Wyndham, a distinguished member of the ministry of 1806. Indeed, Mr. Addington only made peace from sheer necessity, for as soon as the finances would permit him to do so, "he embroiled the country once more in war, on grounds as flimsy and unjustifiable in form as in substance; they were rash, unjust, and unsound."<sup>†</sup> There is a characteristic anecdote recorded of Sheridan, in connection with

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\* Ibid. pp. 223-4.

‡ Ibid. p. 191.

† Vol. i. p. 187.

Addington's peace. "It is a peace," said Francis, "of which everybody is glad and nobody is proud." Lord Holland reported these words to Sheridan shortly after they were spoken; he affected not to hear them, and within two hours delivered them as his own in the House of Commons.

When Mr. Fox himself was Minister for Foreign Affairs, in 1806, he continued the war with France so unflinchingly, that it was supposed he had been overruled in the cabinet, and that Lord Lauderdale, by whom the negotiations had been ultimately conducted, was averse to peace, and that he had become a convert to that war-like system which Fox had "so often and so warmly resisted." But Lord Holland assures us that these surmises were quite false, and that "Lord Lauderdale was more inclined to believe in the practicability of peace, and infinitely more disposed to make additional offers, *for the chance of it*, than Mr. Fox. He could not, indeed, desire it more; but Mr. Fox very soon expressed to me his conviction, founded not on difficulties in the cabinet, but on what he called the shuffling conduct of the French, that the negotiation would fail. I believe no difference of opinion on the negotiation ever occurred between Mr. Fox and any of his colleagues.....it is my firm opinion, founded on my knowledge of the sentiments of Mr. Fox, and confirmed by subsequent reflection, that had the French government conducted itself as it did with Mr. Fox, in the full vigour of health, and at the Foreign Office, the negotiation would have terminated as it did, and most probably would not have been allowed to continue so long by him as it was by his successors."\*

No man can doubt Mr. Fox's sincerity in opposing the war with France. He was on the whole the greatest orator in either house of Parliament. Pitt alone equalled him in debate, and Burke in the depth and liberality of his political views. He combined the excellencies of both, without, however, possessing the steady application of either; but the faults which might have been anticipated from his indolence, were obviated, at least in a great degree, by the goodness of his heart. Had he been in office instead of Pitt, peace with France might have been preserved a few months longer than it actually was, but we have not the

\* Vol. ii. pp. 77, 8.

least doubt that he would have found himself compelled to commence the war, as he was obliged to continue it on the death of his great rival. Indeed, the new premier with whom Fox associated himself in 1806, was Foreign Minister when war broke out between France and England. The conduct of the republic was quite as aggressive as that of the Empire, which Fox himself was compelled to resist with the sword. The French government, by a decree dated 27th of November, 1792, offered the assistance of the republic *to all insurgents*. The execution of Lewis XVI. soon followed. Lord Grenville immediately dismissed M. Chauvelin, the French Ambassador from London, and the Convention declared war with England and Holland. Lord Grenville conducted the war until the breaking up of Mr. Pitt's administration in 1801. Lord Holland declares that he was a more violent promoter of the war than Pitt himself; and he rivalled even Burke in his vehement antipathy to the godless French Republic. The war was more popular out of doors than in parliament, and even then the minority who opposed it only amounted to forty in the Commons and to four in the Lords. Within two years the Whig party, which still opposed the war, was almost totally extinguished. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Wyndham, took an affectionate leave of Mr. Fox, lamenting the necessity of separating themselves from him, and they, along with Lord Loughborough and Lord Howard, joined the ministry. The Irish patriots with Mr. Grattan at their head, supported the war, so that within a short period Burke had the satisfaction of seeing almost his entire party adopt the very opinions for espousing which he had been obliged to separate himself from them. In conjunction with the very men who were now the chief promoters of the war, Fox took office twelve years afterwards, and continued to carry it on until his death, which occurred on the 13th of September, 1806. Lord Howick succeeded him in the Foreign Office, and Lord Holland got a seat in the cabinet as Lord Privy Seal.

If we were to take a superficial view of the policy of the various cabinets from the first administration of Mr. Pitt until the carrying of the Catholic Emancipation Act, we should be at a loss to discover what great question or principle constituted the line of demarcation between Whigs and Tories. We have just seen that it could not have been the policy of war or peace. Nor could it have been the

slave trade, for both Pitt and Fox advocated its abolition; nor parliamentary reform, regarding which the members of the same party differed most widely from each other, nor even Catholic Emancipation, for as we have already stated, Pitt and the most distinguished members of his cabinet were in favour of that measure, whilst three of the Grenville-Fox cabinet, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Ellenborough, and the Lord Chancellor Erskine were notoriously opposed to it. Even when Lord Grenville's ministry was dismissed in 1807, on account of a clause introduced into the Mutiny Bill by Lord Howick, enabling His Majesty to confer any military commission on Catholics, Mr. Canning was appointed Foreign Secretary, and Lord Castlereagh to the War Office, in the Portland-Perceval cabinet, which succeeded, though they, perhaps, agreed in no one opinion except in their avowed advocacy of the claims of the Catholics. Indeed, Mr. Canning had signified his willingness to join the Grenville administration, and the treaty for that purpose was nearly completed when the ministry was dismissed.\* On the other hand, it is amusing to hear Lord Holland's account of what passed in the cabinet of which he was a member, when it became evident that the bigoted old king would dismiss his ministers for having proposed this small preliminary concession to the Catholics. "Our Lord Chancellor Erskine," he says, "talked much nonsense and false religion, declaimed against Papists and Mahometans, and plumed himself on having never supported the pretensions of the Roman Catholics. He betrayed ignorance as well as weakness, mistook the policy of the question, confounded the state of the law, and forgot every circumstance that had attended its enactment or its amendments. When the moment of decision approached, he played with pencil and pens, took up books, and pretended even to sleep with the hope of not being committed in any resolution we might adopt. Lord Howick was indignant at conduct so uncongenial with his own generous temper and elevated mind. The chagrin which Lord Erskine would manifestly feel at the loss of office, seemed to reconcile Lord Howick to the event, and every hint that dropped from the other on the propriety of a temporizing policy, made him spurn more contemptuously at everything like compliance or submission."†

\* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 198.

† Vol. ii. pp. 184—5.

Yet, surely, there must have been some important principle at stake, to cause the most eminent men in the country to be excluded from office, with the exception of a year and a half, for half a century. Trifling causes may for a time produce quite disproportionate results, but they cannot continue uniformly to regulate the most important human affairs. Lord Byron declared that the only thing which never happened, was his friends the Whigs getting into place. Nor will an attentive and observant politician find any difficulty in discovering the principle which was really at stake during all this period. It was one in which Burke and Fox thoroughly agreed. That principle was—the policy and justice of admitting Catholics within the pale of the constitution. It is true that Pitt advocated this principle, that he used it as a means of carrying the union, that he resigned office in 1801 because he could not overcome the prejudices which the king entertained against it. But he did not press it either when he was in office or when he was out of office, and in 1807 Lord Grenville saw and lamented the oversight which the government had committed in 1801, by not bringing the concessions due to the Catholics before parliament, and forcing the king either to acquiesce in them or to dismiss his ministers. Lord Grenville no doubt sincerely regretted that this course had not been taken, but Mr. Pitt most certainly would not have permitted it, because he returned to office in 1803, not only without making any stipulation in favour of the Catholics, but even opposed their petition when it was presented to parliament. Thus a few of the members of the various Tory Administrations entertained views speculatively favourable to the claims of the Catholics, but whenever any practical concession was brought before parliament, they strenuously opposed it. In this respect the conduct of Pitt was far surpassed by Canning. Lord Holland proves at great length\* that the king acted deceitfully towards his cabinet. He first (February 12th, 1807) assented to two clauses being introduced into the Mutiny Bill, enabling His Majesty to confer any *military commission whatever* on any of his liege subjects; and another, granting to all His Majesty's subjects,

\* See vol. ii. pp. 159—205, and Appendix D., at the end of the volume, which contains "The Correspondence and Minutes of Cabinet relative to the Catholic Bill, 1807."

however employed in any of his forces, a legal right to full toleration as to the exercise of their religious professions.” A further despatch to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Duke of Bedford), was read by the king on the 3rd of March. It was a reply to two despatches from Ireland, which were also read by His Majesty, and in which the Irish Catholic Delegates desired to be informed if they were to be capable of being appointed *Generals on Staff*. The reply declared that they were to be capable of *any appointment whatever*. On the following day, March 4th, Lord Howick, by whom the despatch had been written, saw the king, who at first expressed his repugnance to the measure, but finally agreed to its being proposed in parliament. In the full belief that His Majesty continued in the same dispositions as on the twelfth of the preceding month, the matter was mentioned in parliament, and the Lord Lieutenant was authorized to explain the nature and extent of the proposed measure. The king then, and not till then, declared that he never had assented and never would assent to the proposal for permitting Catholics to hold staff appointments. He declared that he had considered the clause to have been in strict accordance with the letter of the Irish Act of 1793. He probably thought that he had caught his ministers in a trap, and that they would instantly resign. However, the majority of the cabinet, in opposition to the sentiments of Lords Holland and Howick and Mr. Wyndham, consented to waive the question for the present, and a minute to this effect was submitted to the king on the 15th of March. But he was determined to get rid of them, and therefore required a *positive assurance* that they would never in future propose to him any concessions to the Catholics. Ministers refused to comply with this unreasonable and unconstitutional demand, and were accordingly dismissed from office. Mr. Canning, to whom the nature of the concession to the Catholics had been explained, and who had fully approved of it when about to join the Grenville administration, now not only associated himself with persons who were pledged to oppose all concessions, but on the motion for a censure of the pledge exacted by the king, which was rejected by two hundred and fifty-eight, to two hundred and thirty-six, ended his speech by declaring that “Ministers were determined to stand by the king, even if they should find it their duty to appeal to the country.” They accordingly did

appeal to the country, and used the no-popery cry so successfully, that Thomas Grenville was the only one of the late ministers who represented the same place in the new, for which he had sat in the former parliament. "Many leading members of the Whig party were excluded or compelled to seek shelter in such close boroughs as their friends could provide."\* Moreover, when the Tories were in office, the Catholics of Ireland were always, as a matter of course, given over to the mercy of a violent and persecuting faction.

Beyond all doubt it was the belief that some mercy and justice would be shown to the Catholics of Ireland, which induced Lord Fitzwilliam, and other eminent Whig statesmen, to join Mr. Pitt's ministry in 1794. Lord Fitzwilliam stated, in the debate on the Union, that when he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland he received full authority "not to bring forward any concession to Catholics, as a measure of government, but if brought forward by any person not in the service of government, to give it his full and cordial support." It is well known that he was recalled as soon as he began to manifest his desire of removing the grievances of the Catholics, and immediately afterwards "in Ireland all the Whigs fell back into opposition without reserve, exception, or delay."<sup>†</sup> In England, too, many of the leading families joined their old friends, and thus the Whig opposition, which had seemed for a time almost to have ceased to exist, was reconstructed. Bigotry towards Catholics was the very life of Toryism, and justice to Catholics the chief bond of union amongst the Whigs, and however individual members of either party may have *speculatively* dissented from the body with which they were associated on these great principles, they were obliged always *practically* to strangle their opinions when they came into office. When Lords Erskine, Sidmouth, and Ellenborough, became members of a Whig ministry, they were obliged to agree to the only measure for the relief of Catholics to which there was, at that moment, the least hope of obtaining the assent of the king or the approbation of parliament, and in the cabinet with Mr. Percival, the holiday opinions of Castle-reagh and Canning were of little use to the Catholics.

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\* *Memoirs* vol. ii. p. 229.

† Vol. i. p. 77.

There were two other remarkable persons who joined the no-Popery ministry at this time—Lord Palmerston, and the Duke of Wellington. Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom the Duke of Portland appointed chief secretary for Ireland, was destined, after a career of almost unequalled glory, to destroy, with the aid of that illustrious statesman, Sir Robert Peel, the vital principle of Toryism, by carrying the great measure of Catholic Emancipation. Up to that period it was uniformly in the ascendant, since then, neither the smiles of the court, in the latter part of the reign of William IV., nor the most strenuous exertions of the aristocracy, have been able to reanimate it. Peel, great as he undoubtedly was, was obliged to abandon the very name, and to call his new party Conservative. Nor was it the name alone which he abandoned, but the thing also, for it would betray the grossest ignorance to assert that Peel's last administration was Tory. It was, on the contrary, eminently popular, and he did as much for the poor by the repeal of the Corn Laws, as he did for religious liberty by the Catholic Emancipation Act. So far was he from being a Tory, that there was no man in the empire so virulently persecuted and hated by the faction of which Lord Derby, D'Israeli, Packington, and Walpole, are the leaders. If Sir Robert Peel had been spared to us he would now be at the head of a powerful and liberal administration, which would, we have no doubt, redress many of the worst grievances of the Irish people. We warn the people of Ireland not to assist those to become their rulers who persecuted him to death. Let them remember the fable of the horse, who called on a man to get on his back and assist him to conquer his enemy. The man did as he was desired, but found the horse so useful that he made a slave of him, and rode him ever afterwards. The Tories will help them to avenge insults, but they will leave the Orange faction on their back.

The present state of parties is strikingly similar to that which existed about half a century ago. No great principle or measure appears to separate them. Both are for War, both are for Free Trade, both are for Reform. Their differences are about details, not principles. The real line of demarkation between them is that which divides toleration and intolerance. Amongst the Whigs you will find a Chambers, and not a few intolerant

Scotchmen, and *perhaps* you may find a very few followers of D'Israeli who would concede religious liberty to Catholics. But when a party comes into power it cannot be guided by the feelings of a few individuals, but by those which predominate in the whole body. The great body of the Tory party are as intolerant and as fond of persecution now as they were in the days of Mr. Percival, and the Catholics of Ireland and of the empire may rely on this, that no matter what may be the actual question on which they will overthrow their adversaries, their real spirit will be the very opposite of that which destroyed their power by carrying the Emancipation Act.

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ART. II.—1. *Papers relative to the recent Arctic Expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin, and the Crews of H. M. S. "Erebus" and "Terror."* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1854.

2.—*Letter addressed by Lady Franklin to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.* Printed and laid before Parliament in March, 1854.

THE adventurers by whose skill or daring the blanks in our charts have been filled up, and the cause of science and civilization materially advanced, may be divided into four classes. The first comprises those who, incited solely by the thirst of gain—like the majority of the Dutch navigators—have braved the hazards of unknown seas in quest of riches. The second comprehends those who have ventured into unexplored regions, influenced at once by the desire of fame and the love of adventure. To the third class belong the few who have cheerfully embraced exile, and danger, and death, to extend the bounds of geographical and scientific knowledge. And last, because fewest, those who, like the heroic successors of St. Francis Xavier, have defied the perils of ocean and of clime, to plant the banner of Christianity in the very strongholds of darkness and barbarism.

By far the greater number of the adventurers who

poured forth from the shores of Spain and Portugal during those two great epochs of maritime discovery, the 15th and 16th centuries, belonged to the first and second class, and were chiefly animated by the hope of reaching those *pays de Cocagne*, India and Cathay, whose treasures were magnified into dazzling proportions by the fervid imagination of the time. But the navigators of the period sought the coveted lands in low southern latitudes; shrinking from the rigours of the icy regions through which they should have to penetrate in the effort to reach them by the northern extremity of America. Accordingly, during the two centuries we have mentioned, we find that not more than ten attempts worth mentioning were made to discover the north-west passage, namely, that of S. Cabot, who commanded the first north-west expedition in 1497, Frobisher's in 1576, Davis's in 1585 and 1587, Barentz's in 1592, Weymouth's in 1602, Knight's in 1606, Hudson's in 1610, Sir Thomas Button's in 1612,\* and Bylot and Baffin's in 1615.

It was not until towards the middle of the last century that governments, having become more enlightened, and influenced, consequently, by more elevated views, co-operated with individuals and with scientific bodies in despatching expeditions to the Arctic regions, the command of which they entrusted to men whom we may more especially include in the third of those classes into which we have arbitrarily divided the explorers of the deep. From that epoch these expeditions increased in number, and characterize a distinct cycle in Polar discovery. Such of them as have escaped the deadly hazards of the world of ice, have returned to their native shores, bringing with them highly valuable results;—enlarging our geographical knowledge of the regions in which they had sojourned; considerably, though indirectly, promoting the progress and well-being of mankind, by supplying data which have formed the basis of new sciences, and making us familiarly acquainted with the physical features of these dread regions, with their aspects of sublime beauty and awful desolation. The

\* In the curious document entitled "Motives inducing a Project for the Discouerie of the North Pole," addressed by this navigator to Henry Prince of Wales, he thus fancifully describes the north pole—“The North pole terrestriall, a magnifient and pure virgin yett vndiscouered.”

deeds of such men eloquently preach an impressive lesson to the arrogant, the effeminate, and the sensual. In contemplating them, the best of us must irresistibly feel that the petty sacrifices to which our holy faith requires we should submit in our relation towards God and our neighbour,—sacrifices which we find so difficult to make, and of which, when made, we are so apt to be vain,—are dwarfed into utter insignificance when contrasted with the magnitude of those which these northern mariners cheerfully yield to an unassuming sense of duty and a noble thirst of honour.\*

There is something sublime and touching in the spectacle of these brave men, abandoning all that the heart holds most dear, and armed but with the weapons of skill and confidence, going forth in frail vessels devotedly to battle with nature in her most dreadful guise, unscared by the fate of those who had perished before them in that grim conflict, undismayed by bitterest frost or thickest ice, pressing ever onwards into the farthest recesses of their mighty foe ;—and all this with but faint hope of being rewarded if they conquer, or remembered if they die. If they emerge from the struggle victorious, their triumph is not blazoned forth—their success is unheeded, and they sink into comparative obscurity ; and if, far away in the midst of these awful solitudes, the treacherous ice close ruthlessly over their heads, and their last cry of agony be stifled in its thunderous crash, they are unmourned by few outside the circle of their immediate relatives and friends. The many read the newspaper paragraph announcing their fate, and think no more about them. It is time that the injustice of an ungrateful world were remedied, and that the masters of the scathing art of war should not wholly monopolize the great prizes of life, to the prejudice of men on whom they would be more deservedly conferred. The mariners who have successfully warred with the world of ice are conquerors in the best acceptation of the word ; and England may be as justly proud of her Polar navigators

\* To none can Tasso's description of Tancred be more justly applied than to the Polar navigator of our times :—

“Vede Tancredi aver la vita a sdegno—

No cupidigia in lui d'oro, o d'impero,  
Ma d'onor brame immoderate, ardenti.”

*Ger. Lib. Canto I.*

as of her Nelson and her Jervis. Their deeds are not, indeed, so popular or renowned as the achievements of her naval warriors, nor will they form so luminous a passage in the page of history; but, even prescinding from the magnitude of the issues at stake on great naval combats, the triumphs of the former are intrinsically greater and nobler than those of the latter. They are greater, because won by battling with more formidable, more numerous, and more protracted perils than those of the sea-fight; nobler, because unstained by the blood of their fellows. All honour, then, to the heroes of the Arctic and Antarctic seas! The names of such of them as have perished in their stern toil and duty should be enrolled among the martyrs of science and humanity, and their memories enshrined in our hearts as the benefactors of their kind.

Disclaiming, *in limine*, all intention of entering very profoundly into our subject, we do not intend to give here even a brief account of the many voyages of exploration to the Arctic regions—many of them full of horrors—from those we have enumerated up to the last successful effort of Captain McClure. We shall merely glance at the names of those which are most distinguished by the success by which they have been attended, so far as may be necessary in order to estimate the extent of the successes of the most recent explorers.

After the land expedition of Samuel Hearne, in 1772, from Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, which was important in destroying the fallacy, until then entertained, of the supposed extension of the American continent in one unbroken mass to the pole, a pause occurs in the annals of Polar researches until Sir Edward Parry's expedition, which sailed in 1819, and which may be regarded as the re-opening of this career of Arctic discovery. Having arrived, with but slight obstruction from the ice, at Lancaster Sound, Parry sailed—dissipating the imaginary mountains of Sir John Ross—from thence down Barrow's Strait, as far as Cape Hay, near the western extremity of Melville Island, without casting anchor; thus going farther west than has ever been ventured by water, and discovering in his course North Devon, Wellington Channel, and the North Georgian Islands, on the north of Barrow's Strait, and North Somerset, Admiralty and Prince Regent's Inlets, and Bank's Land on the south.

The next most remarkable voyage, as regards discovery,

is that of Sir John Ross, who, in 1829-32, explored Regent's Inlet, and discovered Boothia Felix, the Grimble Islands, and several harbours, capes, and bays.

Passing over the repeated expeditions of Franklin, Back, Beechy, and other able navigators, whose researches have considerably enlarged our still imperfect knowledge of the geography of the Arctic regions, we come to the recent voyage of Captain Inglefield, which, for the extent of its discoveries, and the short space of time in which these discoveries were effected, stands unprecedented in the annals of Arctic exploration.

Captain Inglefield sailed in Lady Franklin's steam yacht, the "Isabel," in July 1852, with the object of communicating with Sir E. Belcher, now engaged in searching for Franklin in the Polar Sea, north of Wellington Channel. He discovered Prince of Wales' and Albert's Lands, and penetrating up Smith's Sound, as far as 78° 28' N., he called the island far north of it after Louis Napoleon. On his return, he traced the direction of the shores of Jones's Sound; and after having communicated with Belcher's squadron, at Beechy Island, he sailed homewards, and arrived in England in October—accomplishing all this in the incredibly short space of four months.

This voyage irresistibly enforces the decided superiority of steam-vessels of small draught over sailing vessels in the navigation of the Polar seas. Independent of the variable winds and currents which prevail in the Arctic regions, they are less liable to be checked in their progress than sailing vessels, while, on the other hand, if swept away in an ice-drift, the steamer would have a much greater chance of extricating herself by availing of every opening in the ice than the sailing vessel, which, in similar circumstances, would be perfectly helpless. The former would also more easily escape being "nipped" between two drifting floes, or ice-fields, by steaming from between them ere they could meet. In a word, they are best adapted to evade the many perils which beset the vessel which ventures to thread the labyrinthine paths of the Arctic seas.

The instance of the "Isabel" must force this conviction on the Admiralty, although we fear too late for any useful purpose as regards the Franklin expedition. Without meaning to attach the slightest blame to the authorities of the Admiralty, whose exertions to rescue the hapless

expedition have been most humane and unremitting, we cannot help remarking that had this superiority of steam over sailing vessels in Arctic navigation been perceived by them earlier, much dreadful suffering and waste of life would, in all probability, have been spared us, and even greater geographical acquisitions might have been made long since than those which have been recently gained.

The distinguishing characteristic of the most recent expeditions is that, undertaken almost exclusively in the cause of humanity, they have resulted in a series of brilliant discoveries, and have thus been crowned with a success denied to expeditions whose aim was less noble. Inspired by the hope of rescuing one hundred and thirty-nine fellow creatures, these recent voyagers have penetrated into the heart of the icy fastnesses of the North, and have surmounted obstacles which would have been insuperable to men influenced by the mere ambition of winning renown.

Before coming to the papers which stand at the head of our pages, we will give a brief *résumé* of the expeditions undertaken for the same object, in order to present the reader with the aspect of Arctic discovery immediately preceding these dispatches. Sir J. Richardson and Mr. Rae surveyed, in 1848, the coast between the Makenzie and Copper-mine rivers. The latter gentleman continued the survey, and explored the coast of Wallaston Land, as far as Cape Jane Franklin, in 1851. From this expedition we have derived an accurate knowledge of a large part of the Northern coast of America. Contemporaneously, Captain Kellet discovered land off Cape Jakan, seemingly of considerable extent, but which is yet imperfectly traced on our maps. Sir James Ross, in 1848, examined the northern shore of North Somerset, the eastern and western shores of Bryant's Inlet, and the northern shore of Barrow's Strait for some distance. Owing to adverse circumstances, this expedition has added little to our previous knowledge. In 1850, Captain Penny discovered the Polar Basin, north of Wellington Channel. Captain Austin and Mr. Kennedy have extended our knowledge of the shores of North Somerset and Prince of Wales's Land. Captain Ommanny discovered the inlet and bay which bear his name, and surveyed the western coast of Prince of Wales's Land, Melville Straits, and part of Jones's Sound. In 1852, Mr. Kennedy and the lamented

Bellot traced the straits which are now honoured by the latter officer's name, and which separate North Somerset from Boothia. In the spring of 1853, Commander Richards and Lieutenant Osborne made a sledge journey through Wellington Channel, and across Melville Island, the result of which was, that they found Byam Martin Channel to be connected with the Polar Basin. This, with Captain Inglefield's expedition, which we have already noticed, closes the list of expeditions in search of Franklin, from which positive geographical acquisitions have arisen previously to the dispatches before us, which mark the most brilliant epoch in Arctic discovery.

The Parliamentary papers which head our article contain the latest researches of Sir Edward Belcher, McClure, Kellett, Maguire, &c., for Sir John Franklin, with the discoveries which they have made while prosecuting them. While we deeply regret that these explorations have not led to any trace of the missing navigators, it is at least gratifying to find that they have largely extended our geographical knowledge of the Arctic regions.

The despatches of Sir E. Belcher, the commander of the squadron in search of Franklin still in the Polar seas, though devoid of any very exciting incidents, claim our attention from the importance of the discoveries they communicate. Leaving the "North Star," Captain Pullen, and the "Resolute," Captain Kellett, at Beechy Island, Belcher advanced up Wellington Channel, in August, 1852. After discovering Mount Percy and Northumberland Sound, at the north-eastern extremity of Queen's Channel, he left his vessel frozen up in Northumberland Sound, and launched on the Polar sea with sledges and boats. Proceeding northward he observed two large islands, which he named respectively Exmouth and Table Island, and land considerably north-east of them, which he called North Cornwall, in lat.  $77^{\circ}33'30''$  N., long.  $97^{\circ}$  W. From this place he descried land far to the north-west, in lat.  $78^{\circ}10'$  N., long.  $100^{\circ}$  W., to which he gave the name of Victoria Land. Having also explored the north coast of Cornwall's Island, to the west of Cape Lady Franklin, he sailed towards Beechy Island, where he arrived in August, 1853. Sir Edward is now engaged in a second exploration of the Polar Basin, in the hope of finding some trace of Franklin.

This expedition has been attended by some highly in-

teresting results. It has proved the existence of an extensive archipelago in the Polar Sea, and has shown that Smith's and Jones's Sounds are connected with it, while the circumstance of no land being visible towards the north and north-west, from North Cornwall tends to confirm the theory of a navigable sea flowing at and around the Pole.\*

Considerably, however, as Sir Edward Belcher's discoveries have increased our knowledge of the Great Polar Basin, understanding by the term that portion of the Arctic seas which is comprised within fifteen degrees of the Pole, it requires but a glance at the chart in which they are given, to perceive that a blank space still extends from the meridian of  $100^{\circ}$  to that of  $170^{\circ}$  West, or a distance of between 800 or 900 miles, which affords a vast field for future research, if indeed, any discoveries which may arise from it could compensate the cost and peril of such expeditions. Here we may passingly remark, that it is this region which Scandinavian imagination has peopled with blissful isles, blooming with perennial verdure, whose inhabitants, exempt from toil and care, enjoy a prolonged and delightful existence in these haleyon abodes. Strange that the Polynia of the Scandinavian should be a repetition of the Hesperides of the Greek.

The origin of this fable dates some centuries back. A Norwegian pirate wandered some distance within the Arctic seas, and on his return, related, among other marvels, that his ship was wafted by perfumed breezes, on which were borne strains of wild unearthly music, towards groups of verdant islands, on which he beheld several men and women of extraordinary beauty, who invited him with friendly gestures to approach; when a storm suddenly arose, which snatched the vision from his view, and forced the vessel again into the midst of the crashing ice.

\* Arctic navigators have found that the north wind in these regions invariably causes the glass to rise, which can only be explained on the supposition of its keenness having been tempered by the exhalations from some open sea. Sir E. Parry, in his celebrated transglacial journey, in 1827, from Spitzbergen towards the Pole, found even at the very high latitude of  $82^{\circ}45'$  that the temperature was much milder than what he had experienced farther south. He also saw an open sea, unencumbered by ice. He was prevented from attaining this water by the ice drifting more rapidly to the southward than he could advance northward.

Captain Maguire's despatches are chiefly interesting from the information they afford of the habits and character of the natives near Point Barrow, of whom we previously knew nothing; the crews of the "Investigator" and of the "Plover" having been the first white men whom these savages had ever seen.

Captain Maguire sailed in the "Plover" from Point Clarence in August, 1852, passing through Behring's Straits, and having rounded Point Barrow, anchored off the Point at Moore's Harbour. Here he first experienced the terrible severity and depressing monotony of the Polar winter, when all nature is enveloped for nine months in one long night of murky darkness, illuminated only at times by the iridescent flashes of the aurora, when the solemn stillness which reigns over all fills the mariner locked in its icy fetters with an overwhelming sense of his loneliness, when above him frowns a black unpitying heaven, and around him spreads the interminable ice, with its ghastly glimmer, while the snow-sheeted mountains show through the gloom like the hoary frost-giants of the Northern Sagas, menacing the lone wanderer from the living world for his rash intrusion on their dread domains.\*

\* We cannot resist gracing our pages, in this place, with the following passage descriptive of Arctic scenery, from one of the most beautiful writers of France. We give it in the original, as a translation would but impair its beauty.

"Ceux qui n'ont vu que les Alpes et les Pyrénées, ne peuvent se former une idée de l'aspect de ces solitudes hyperboréennes, de ces régions désolées, où l'on voit, comme après le déluge, 'de rares animaux errer sur des montagnes inconnues'—

'Rara per ignotos errant animalia montes.'

Des nuages, ou plutôt des brouillards humides fument sans cesse autour des sommets de ces monts déserts.

"Mais la scène ne se montre dans toute son horreur qu'au bord même de l'Océan. Quelques rochers, environnés par des neiges éternelles, percent de leur flancs noircis ces vapeurs blanchâtres, et ressemblent par leurs formes et leur immobilité à des fantômes qui se regardent dans un affreux silence. D'un côté s'étendent de vastes champs de glaces contre lesquels se brise une mer décolorée où jamais n'apparut une voile; de l'autre s'élève une terre bordée de mornes stériles. Le long des grèves on ne voit qu'une triste succession de baies dévastées et de promontoires orageux. Le soir le voyageur se réfugie dans quelque trou de rocher, dont il chasse l'aigle marin, qui s'envole avec de grands cris. Toute la nuit il

Shortly after Captain Maguire's arrival, the natives came down to the shore, and were found very troublesome and ill-disposed.

"No single boat's crew could be at any distance from the ship without being pilfered from in the most daring and barefaced way; and upon every trivial, and often without any occasion, their knives was drawn upon our men, who, although armed with muskets, had strict orders in no case to make even a show of them, unless obliged by necessity, as I thought recourse to that force was to be avoided when a good feeling in favour of any of our missing countrymen, who may at any future period be in their power, was the object sought."

The natives were at first admitted in crowds on board, but after a short trial, their pilferings and the general annoyance they caused became so intolerable, that thenceforth a limited number only were allowed to visit the ship at a time; and it was necessary to watch these carefully to prevent thefts. On returning any of the stolen articles they conceived they were entitled to reward, and surrounded the vessel, shouting clamorously for "tawac" (tobacco.) Cowardice is not esteemed to be among the vices of the savage; but the conduct of the natives of Point Barrow would indicate that this tribe at least are arrant cowards. Adverting to the tricks played off by the Esquimaux on the men when on shore, Captain Maguire says: "These sort of annoyances continued as long as our men had work to do outside of the ship; and when the natives were collected in any numbers, the difference of character displayed by them when so and the reverse, is worthy of remark. In the former case they are bold and overbearing, and when meeting with parties gather round them, and apparently in a half-playful way, commence shoving them about and feeling their clothes, when, if they fail in getting what they want given them, they help themselves, and with their knives soon remove any buttons that happen to be bright.

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écoute avec effroi le bruit des vents que répètent les échos de sa grotte, et le gemissement des glaces qui se fendent sur la rive.— La nature, aux approches du soleil entr'ouvre par degrés son voile de neige. Les poëtes américains pourront un jour la comparer à une épouse nouvelle, qui dépose timidelement, et comme à regret, sa robe virginal, décelant en partie, et essayant encore de cacher ses charmes à son époux."—*Chateaubriand, Mélanges Litteraires.*

On the contrary, when they are in small numbers, they are not like the same people, but seem quiet, harmless, inoffensive, and obliging ; even while displaying these good qualities, should their numbers become increased, they lose no time in throwing off their assumed humility to join in any plunder going on."

We gladly turn to a brighter side of the picture, and present our readers with the life-like sketch which Captain Maguire gives of a festive entertainment given to the natives on board the vessel.

"At four p.m., October the 28th, our visitors were admitted to the number of seventy. After they were made to seat themselves round the deck, the entertainment commenced by serving each with a little tobacco, then our musical instruments (a violin, coropeian, drum, and triangle) played a lively air, which caused a general exclamation of wonder and pleasure, most of the party now hearing them for the first time. This was followed by a request for them to dance, and being supplied with a drum they willingly complied. Our seamen danced in their turn, and in a little time the natives entered fully into the spirit of the amusement, stripping off their skin coats and dancing naked to the waist, with the temperature at + 6°, showing the state of excitement they work themselves into, as the male performers shout in a wild triumphant manner, and all the lookers-on join in a chorus, and become as much excited as the performers ; their appearance makes a scene as savage as can well be imagined.

"By ten p.m. the party broke up, all appearing to have had dancing enough ; the whole company seemingly pleased with their evening's amusement. When we came to take down a few flags that were hung under the housing for ornament, it was vexing to find several large pieces cut out of them as if in handfulls. The chief and some others remaining appeared sorry, and promised the pieces should be returned, which was faithfully done the next morning."

The minor national traits which seem so trifling that they have been almost invariably overlooked by historians, are precisely those from which alone we can form a just estimate of the character of a people. The few notices of the social usages of the Greeks and Romans, which we can glean from the classic writers of antiquity, afford us a more correct notion of the peculiar genius and character of these nations, than could be derived from the perusal of the most ample disquisitions on their wars and public institutions. Without attempting to institute any comparison between the savage Esqui-

maux and the civilized nations of ancient or modern times, we may remark that our northern navigators in treating of these interesting tribes, have imitated the old historians, and have described only their most striking features, such as their physical structure, their imitative powers, their dress, and the form of their huts. Necessarily intermittent as has been the intercourse of the white man with the Esquimaux, it has been sufficient, however, to enable him to observe their social customs and domestic life. Unhappily, Arctic explorers have considered these matters as quite foreign to their purpose. During Sir John Ross's protracted stay of *three winters* in Regent's Inlet, the only information he gives us on these points is, that plurality of wives and husbands prevailed among the tribes of that district. We give, therefore, the following passage, although at some length, since it throws some additional light on this subject.

"On the morning in question, the quarter-master of the watch, David Dunstall, came into my cabin, and informed me he had had a dreadful misfortune—and, to my horror—that he had shot a native alongside the ship, and on hurrying outside, I found the man was shot through the head, and must have died instantaneously.

"The man who had been the cause of the unlooked-for event, showed by his manner that it had been an accident, and upon making further enquiries, I found that several natives had arrived alongside the ship previous to the time they were allowed, and although desired on that account to go away several times, they could not be induced to do so, and the quarter-master of the watch took out a fowling piece in his hand, in order to frighten them, and when motioning with it for them to go away, it went off and lodged the contents of the barrel in the back part of the poor man's head. The remainder of the party, five or six, ran away so speedily that there was no means of overtaking them, and the body being left, it became necessary to consider the best means of disposing of it. We soon after removed it to such a distance from the ship that the natives could advance to it without fear of us, and at the same time give them no pretext for coming any nearer the ship. When this had been done, and a large quantity of tobacco left with the body, as an intimation of our friendship, all that we could do was to hope that some of our friends amongst them would still have sufficient confidence to come down and give us an opportunity of explaining this affair. In this expectation we were not disappointed, as two of the chief men came to the ship at once, having, before leaving the settlement, exerted their influence to quiet the people in their first outbreak.

"One of these men, who was remarkable for his intelligence, was made to comprehend the possibility of such an accident; and great pains were taken to show that the charge was shot intended for birds, not men. When this impression was established, we requested them to go back and explain it to the people. By the time they had arrived at the place where the body had been left, a great many had collected, amongst them the wife and friends of the unfortunate deceased, whom I was glad to find had left no children. They sat round, and appeared deeply engaged in conversation for about two hours, listening, as we supposed, to the explanation; then they seemed to examine the body, and his own deerskins having been brought down, he was wrapped in them and placed on a sledge, which was drawn by his wife, leading, and four men, one following, across the bay to the cemetery, near Point Barrow. None of the others accompanied the procession. A few of them came as usual alongside the ship, but as they were for the most part of those known not to be friendly to us, our people were kept on board to avoid any treacherous retaliation.

"During the day I was gratified to find the wives of the principal chiefs come on board, and expressed their sorrow at the absence of their husbands, who were at open water looking for whale; but they had been sent for, and were coming on board as soon as they returned. They told us also that all work was stopped for five days, the women not being allowed to sew for that time, which seems to be a general custom on occasion of any death, and remarked that we ought not to have any hammering on board for the same time; and as I was anxious to show every sympathy in our power, the calkers at work outside were ordered to cease work, and the ensign hoisted half mast, the meaning of which was explained and understood by them. In the evening one of the chiefs who had been first down after the accident, visited us with his wife, and brought intelligence that a diversion existed in the camp as to revenging themselves on us, but as the chiefs were unwilling to favour it, it seemed nothing of the sort would be attempted.

"However, proper precautions were taken to avoid any surprise, particularly as a thick fog at the time of sleep favoured such a design."

From the physical characteristics of the Esquimaux, and the custom of rubbing noses as a mode of salutation which obtains among them, it is evident that they are allied with the Malay and Mongol races; but this custom of a prescribed term of mourning for their dead closely links even the isolated tribes which inhabit the coast east of Point Barrow with the great family of mankind, and furnishes an additional proof,—if any such were needed in support of Divine Revelation,—of the common origin of the human race.

The tolerable amount of intelligence shown by the Esquimaux has induced the belief that they could be easily civilized. No decided effort has yet been made with that object, and we cannot therefore decisively pronounce as to whether they be capable or not of enjoying the blessings of civilization; but when we consider that the degree of civilization to which a people can attain is always dependant on the soil and climate in which they live, we cannot avoid concluding that the Esquimaux must be for ever precluded from sharing them. The first means of fixing the wandering savage is by the settlement of civilized man in his neighbourhood, by winning him to agricultural pursuits, and then by elevating his mind by the sublime truths of religion. It is obvious that this indispensable process cannot take place with the inhabitants of the dreary wastes of the polar circles. It is true that the Arab of the desert and the nomad hordes of the barren steppes of Russia and Tartary have bowed their necks to the irksome and invisible meshes of civilization, and have played a splendid part in the great drama of life. It must, however, be remembered that, although these races had to struggle with an ungenial soil and climate, they possessed a powerful incentive to emerge from barbarism. They had a tradition to fall back on; but without any inspiring antecedents, and with the far more formidable obstacles which nature opposes to his progress, the Esquimaux can never hold any but an inferior station in the scale of humanity.

The following description of a native hut deserves a passing notice, because its construction differs in many respects from the oft-described huts of the more southern Esquimaux of Regent's Inlet and Greenland.

"On the following day I paid a visit to the village, accompanied by Mr. Simpson, the surgeon. We were followed by several idlers from about the ship, who, as we neared the hut, spread the report of our arrival, which soon caused a great crowd to gather round us, following to the chief's hut, where we found him on his housetop ready to receive us. The winter huts were now covered with snow; the chief's stood about five feet above the ground, with a square opening at one end, into which we followed through a low dark passage sloping downwards for five or six yards, when we stood beneath the opening in the floor of the inhabited part of the hut.

"It is circular in form, just large enough to admit one person at a time. Passing through it we stood upon a smooth boarded floor,

about sixteen feet by ten feet ; the roof was seven feet high, and in the centre was a small square skylight, covered with transparent whale membrane."

These northern races receive Russian articles from the more southern tribes at Point Hope, which they convey eastward, and exchange for knives and some trifling articles of English manufacture procured from the Hudson's Bay posts ; thus acting as agents between the two companies. By this means, the Point Barrow Esquimaux are placed *en rapport* with the civilized world.

After having examined the coast during the months of March and April, 1853, from Point Barrow eastward to Return Reef, a distance of about 240 miles, Captain Maguire succeeded in reaching Port Clarence in August of the same year.

We now turn to the despatches of Captain M'Clure, the fortunate individual for whom was reserved the solution of a problem, to decide which the nations of maritime Europe had for more than three centuries expended such an amount of life and treasure. As is well known, Captain M'Clure went by the western coast of America and Behring's Straits. It is surprising that the repeated failures of expeditions by Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay did not force the superior advantages of the former route on the attention of recent navigators, and induce them to prefer it to the other. Setting apart the strong current which runs from Behring's Straits in a north-easterly direction, so favourable to vessels sailing that way by sweeping the ice to the eastward, the ice in these seas is broken into smaller masses, and is much less heavy than that in Baffin's Bay. It is, therefore, less likely to take the ground, and thus block up the passage ; a circumstance by which every attempt from the eastward has been defeated. More than two centuries ago Baffin recommended an attempt from the Asiatic side ; and the veteran navigator, Sir E. Parry, expressed a similar opinion in the narrative of his voyage of 1819. Observing that the westerly and north-westerly winds always cleared the southern shores of the North-Georgian Islands of ice, and brought with them clear weather, so essential in Arctic navigation, and that he sailed eastward from Melville Islands to Lancaster Sound in six days, a distance which it required five weeks to traverse when going in the oppo-

site direction, he concluded that the attempt would have a better chance of success by the western than by the eastern coast of America. It is probable that the commanders of Arctic expeditions were prevented from attempting a north-east passage by reluctance on the part of their men to encounter the intense cold of the Polar regions, after having so recently experienced the fervent heat of the tropics; whereas they would be more easily induced to endure the perils and privations attendant on Arctic navigation in a north-west direction, when cheered by the hope of basking, after the toils and rigours of the icy seas, beneath the vivific rays of a tropical sun in some of the palmy islands of the Pacific.

Notwithstanding the decided advantages of a north-east route, the first efforts to enter the Arctic seas by Behring's Straits were unsuccessful. This passage was first attempted by Cook, in 1778, whose hopes were frustrated by the close-packed ice, as were the attempts of the investigators who followed in his track, either by arriving at the ice too late in the year, or by seasons of unusual severity,—their progress being almost invariably arrested by impenetrable barriers of ice. So it happened in the first expeditions of Captains Kellett and Moore, who were unable to pass Icy Cape, although in a second effort they succeeded in advancing considerably beyond it, and in surveying a large portion of the northern coast of America.

The interest excited by Captain M'Clure's discovery has rendered his proceedings better known than those of the other commanders whose despatches are contained in the volume of Parliamentary papers under review.\* The importance of that discovery, however, will, we trust, justify us in tracing the course of the "Investigator," even at the risk of repeating that which is already familiar to the reader.

Captain Collinson, in the "Enterprise," having Captain M'Clure's vessel, the "Investigator," under his command, sailed from England early in the month of January, 1850. After passing through the Straits of Magellan, both vessels were separated in heavy weather, and have never since

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\* Captain M'Clure's Despatches have been issued in a cheap form by Mr. Betts, publisher to the Royal Geographical Society.

met.\* After exchanging signals with the "Herald," Captain M'Clure sailed on alone, rounded Point Barrow on the 6th of August, and with all sail set dashed bravely into the ice pack. Off Point Drew they first saw natives who were friendly and honest; but farther east the natives were found to possess the thievish propensities of those encountered by Maguire. Arrived at Point Warren, he landed with the intention of examining the grave of a white man, whom one of the natives asserted had been murdered there, and buried upon a hill a little distance from the shore. A fresh easterly breeze springing up at that time, compelled the captain to relinquish his intention of sifting the matter farther, every moment being of importance in the navigation of the Arctic Seas; but we agree with him in thinking that the examination of the grave would not afford any traces of the Franklin expedition, from the very confused notion which these people have of time; the chief who gave information of the circumstance, replying, on being questioned as to when it occurred, "It might be last year, or when I was a child."

Of the natives of Cape Bathurst, (who had never seen white men before,) he says:—

"Many came on board the ship, but one only ventured below, who was exceedingly surprised to find that we had not tents but houses (cabins), and said he should have many wonderful things to relate when he went home. The tribe is a fine intelligent race—cleanly, handsome, and well grown; and I deeply regret that so little has hitherto been attempted in civilizing them. I sincerely hope that the day is not far distant when this interesting people may be redeemed from their deplorable state of heathen darkness."

The kind and conciliatory bearing of the "Investigator's" crew towards the natives, had a most beneficial effect on the latter, and evoked those hospitable feelings which seem as native to man in his most untaught as in his most refined state.

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\* Three years have elapsed since tidings were received of Captain Collinson and his companions, and anxious apprehensions are felt for their safety. While we write, an expedition, under the command of Captain Maguire, is searching for them, along the north-western coast of Behring's Straits, where the "Enterprise" was last seen.

"The natives, now assured of our friendly intentions, came on board without the slightest reluctance, and, through the medium of the interpreter, acquainted us that during the night they had been preparing a feast, roasting whale and venison, and had salmon, blubber, and other delicacies, besides plenty of skins, ready at the tents, and hoped we would come on shore, which, indeed, I should have very much enjoyed had the vessel been in a less precarious position."

Thus the natives of these desolate regions can partake of a banquet as luxurious as any that ever graced an aldermanic table. The abundant supply of food, as well as of the few necessaries which they require, obtained as they are with little labour and less skill, contribute to render them the careless, good-natured, happy beings they are. But for the heathenism in which he is plunged, the condition of the Esquimaux might, at least in some respects, be envied by the denizen of our busy hives of civilization, where, for the masses, the bare necessities of life can be procured only by severe physical or mental labour, too often embittered by many corroding cares. It is indeed refreshing to turn from the hurry and tumult of our western civilisation, with its feverish competition, its ceaseless pursuit of riches, its fierce struggle for existence, its painful contrasts of superfluity and want, of happiness and misery, and the irrational striving of the rich to gain increased wealth which can bring no increased enjoyment; it is, we repeat, refreshing to turn from all this, and contemplate for a moment the happy condition of the Esquimaux, who inhabits the most desolate portion of the globe. Nowhere is the admirable adaptation of man to the conditions by which he is surrounded, or the bounty of a beneficent Providence, more clearly illustrated than within the circle of the northern frigid zone. Inured to the rigorous climate, the native feels at ease when exposed to a temperature of — 60°. Nature scatters around him in profusion materials to supply all his wants. He builds his dwelling of snow, and of transparent ice he forms his windows. Of fish-bones he constructs coaches in which he skims over the ice with a smoothness of motion exceeding that of our best patent-spring vehicles. He picks up a lump of copper ore outside his hut, smelts it over his oil lamp, shapes it into a barb, which he attaches to a shaft, and he is provided with his weapon of war and of the chase. A piece of drift-wood floated to his door he fashions into ribs,

over which he draws a seal skin which he fastens to the frame with leather thongs ; and lo ! he has his pleasure-boat in which, when the ice breaks up, he sails from island to island in search of the innumerable species of game which swarm in these regions during the short but ardent polar summer. The skins of the reindeer, the bear, the seal, and the musk ox, furnish him with garments as peculiarly suited to resist the intense cold of the climate, as their highly carbonaceous flesh is adapted to supply the waste of carbon, consequently an active respiration in a very low temperature. But, although at a first glance we may be tempted to envy the facility with which the Polar savage can supply his limited wants, it requires but slight consideration to perceive that this very facility imposes an insuperable barrier to his progress ; and that with all the evils of our social structure, the labour of brain and muscle, which it necessitates on the greater number of those who are subject to its laws, is one of the best means of evoking all those qualities which ennoble man by rendering him an intellectual being.

Directing his course towards the north-east, on the 7th September, 1850, McClure discovered and named Baring's Island, in lat. 71° N., long. 123° W. This he found to be a large island, verdant with the cryptogamic vegetation of the Arctic regions, covered with the traces of reindeer, foxes, hares, and wild fowl, and intersected with ravines, through which flowed an abundance of water. On the 9th he discovered Prince Albert's Land, a little to the eastward of Baring's Islands, and sailing up the strait which separates them, (which he named after the Prince of Wales,) he arrived, after several narrow escapes from shipwreck, near its northern extremity, where he was frozen up for the winter. Being anxious to ascertain whether the waters of this channel were connected with those of Barrow's Strait, Captain McClure set off in sledges from his vessel, accompanied by Mr. Court, second master, and six men. On the 26th October they arrived upon the shores of Barrow's Strait, in lat. 73° 31' N. long. 114° 39' W.,—thus discovering the long-sought North-West passage. On returning to the vessel with the glad tidings, the little party was greeted with enthusiasm by the crew.

Lieutenants Creswell and Haswell, and Mr. Wynniatt, (mate), explored the coast of Prince Albert's Land in

different directions, in May, 1851. It is very hilly, with numerous deep ravines and large lakes. "This," says Captain McClure, "is certainly the most fertile part of the Polar regions."

The dreary polar winter having passed, the "Investigator" was cast off from the floe to which she had been anchored for ten months, and sailed up the strait as far north as  $73^{\circ} 13' 43''$ , where, finding the ice closely packed from the entrance of the strait as far as the eye could reach, McClure abandoned all hope of reaching Barrow's Strait by that route, and, therefore, turning southward, doubled Nelson Head, the southern point of Baring's Island, on the 17th August, 1851.

Keeping along the western coast of the island, he arrived at Prince Alfred's Cape, its extreme north-western point, where he first experienced the dangers which attend the navigation of the terrific Polar Sea. Tremendous masses of ice, impelled by the wind and current, closed in around them with a pressure which threatened their instant destruction. Scarcely freed from these, a berg would sweep past them, lifting the vessel out of the water with its projecting tongue, and tearing away large portions of her keel. Several times all were on board prepared to abandon the vessel, when, either by the merciful interposition of Providence, or by blasting the ice with gunpowder, they were saved for a brief space from a fearful death. We give one of these perilous incidents in the writer's own words.

"From this until the 29th we lay perfectly secure, but at 8 a.m. of that day the ice began suddenly to move, when a large floe, which must have caught the piece to which we were attached, under one of its overhanging ledges, raised it perpendicularly thirty feet, presenting to all on board a most frightful aspect. As it ascended above the foreyard, much apprehension was felt that it might be thrown completely over, when the ship must have been crushed beneath it. This suspense was but for a few minutes, as the floe rent, carrying away with it a large piece from the foundation of our asylum, when it gave several fearful rolls and resumed its former position, but, no longer capable of resisting the pressure, it was hurried onward with the drifting mass."

After having encountered even greater peril, he succeeded in reaching a safe harbour, which, in gratitude for "the dangers he had passed," he named "Mercy Bay." Here they passed the winter of 1851-2. From thence

Captain McClure went with a sledge party to Winter Harbour, Melville Island, where he left an account of his discoveries, and the position of his ship. Returning, he found that the supply of game had been abundant during his absence, and the crew in fine health and spirits. This, however, did not last long. During the months of January and February the cold was extremely severe, and one day the temperature was as low as — 65°.

This low temperature caused much damp between decks, which considerably increased the number of sick on board. Under these circumstances, Captain McClure resolved on sending half of his crew to England, in April, 1853, by the MacKenzie River and Baffin's Bay, detaining the remainder with the hope of saving the vessel in the summer of 1853. As is well known, the vessel has not yet been extricated. Carrying out his resolution, however, he sent Lieutenant Creswell with his despatches to England, where that officer arrived in October, bringing the first tidings of the great discovery.

The notice deposited by Captain McClure at Winter Harbour was found in March, 1853, by an officer of the "Resolute," Captain Kellet, who, on reading it, immediately despatched a sledge party, under Lieutenant Pim, for Mercy Harbour. We must give Captain McClure's graphic description of the meeting, as contained in a letter to Captain Kellet.

"Only imagine, if you can, a whole crew, which had to this moment no idea of any ship but their own being within the limit of these dreary regions, cut off from the world—their isolated situation, and (in defiance of all exertion) a little despondent, when accidentally a strange, remarkable, and solitary figure was seen rapidly advancing, showing gesticulations of friendship, similar to those used by the Esquimaux, black as Erebus from the smoke created by cooking in his tent. My surprise, I may almost add dismay, was great in the extreme. I paused in my advance, doubting who or what it could be, whether a denizen of this or the other world; however, the surprise was momentary. 'I am Lieutenant Pim, late of Herald. Captain Kellet is at Melville Island.' And as the apparition was thus indubitably discovered to be solid real English flesh and blood, to rush at and seize him by the hand was but the first impulsive gush of feeling. The heart was too full for the tongue to articulate, as this dark stranger communicated his errand of mercy. The sick, forgetting their maladies, jumped from their hammocks; the healthy, their despondency;—all flew to the only hatchway that was open, and in far less time than it takes me to write this, all hands were on deck.

"Such a scene can never be forgotten ; all was now life, activity, and joyful astonishment. In the twinkling of an eye the whole crew were changed ; but I shall cease to say more, for I might write much, but never could, even faintly, convey the most remote idea of the sensation created by this most opportune and providential arrival of your relieving party."

If, divesting the narratives of Arctic explorers of the exciting incidents which invest them with a peculiar fascination, we demand what special benefit has been derived from these expeditions, we must at once decide that they have been useless, as regards any augmentation of the wealth and power of the nation which has taken the most prominent part in Arctic exploration, and that the results which have arisen from them are wholly incommensurate with the expense and peril of such voyages. Aware of this, Russia, so favourably situated for such exploration, and with all her hereditary greed of territorial aggrandizement, has ceased for many years from prosecuting it, and has allowed British seamen to reap the barren glory of geographical discovery in the Arctic seas. It may be that England encourages such expeditions as a means of training her sailors ; but even if she gains by them those men of iron mould and unflinching nerve, who sustain her ancient renown, and preserve to her the sovereignty of the seas, these results are obtained at too costly a price. One pretext for such voyages has been withdrawn by the discovery of the North-West passage, and humanity imperatively requires that Sir E. Belcher's expedition shall be the last to these frozen regions.

The Arctic regions have already been made the field of successful commercial enterprise by whaling companies, and by the Russian and English fur companies, whose trading posts stud the "barren lands" south of the Colville and Copper-mine rivers. But although the discovery of a North-West passage is, geographically speaking, highly satisfactory, yet it cannot be considered as of any benefit to mankind, seeing that it can never be available for commercial purposes. But however unimportant the discovery may be in any save a hydrographical point of view, that fact should not detract in the slightest degree from the honour due to him by whose intrepidity, perseverance, and consummate skill it was effected. With noble zeal and stern resolve he pressed onward through the frozen seas, battling incessantly with the dread powers of

nature, and after a long and deadly struggle with the grim Spirit of the North, he wrung from its adamantine grasp the secret of ages. Proudly may Ireland claim him as her own: his name will ever stand high on the roll of her most illustrious sons.

There are no honours or rewards to which such a man may not justly aspire, and we trust the reward of £20,000, which was offered for the discovery of the North-West passage—annulled by Act of Parliament in 1829—will be renewed in his favour, and that fame and fortune, so often severed, may be united in this instance to perfect the happiness of one who has nobly won the right to enjoy it in its highest degree; so that, when he has returned to England to receive the ovations which await him, he may experience in its full reality that

“————— from high aims ensue  
Rich guerdons, and to them alone are due.”\*

The results obtained from scientific investigations in the Arctic regions during these expeditions are not among their least interesting features.

The refraction of light in these high latitudes, the pressure and temperature of the atmosphere, the force and direction of currents, the temperature and specific gravity of water at various depths, and the observation of magnetic and atmospheric phenomena, were the principal scientific questions the determination of which has been one of the chief objects of Arctic expeditions. It is to be regretted that the recent despatches do not much contribute to the information previously acquired on any of these points, except on the temperature and pressure of the atmosphere; and no experiments are mentioned as having been made with the instruments with which they were furnished. Here, however, we cannot refrain from giving a rapid glance at the valuable scientific results which have been derived from the researches of previous investigators, beginning with the distribution of heat around the polar circles.

The relative size and configuration of countries being very accurately preserved in a polar projection, and the isothermal lines forming on the northern extremities of the old and new continents two systems of concentric

\* Wordsworth.

curves, a more correct idea of their forms and course may be derived from maps traced on this principle than on any other. Viewed, then, on a polar projection, the isothermal lines of the northern hemisphere form circles nearly parallel to the equator between the tropics, and become progressively more sinuous as they advance towards the pole, around which they form a series of curves, somewhat resembling a dumb-bell in figure, the handle of which is formed by the lines curving in towards the pole. This sinuosity of the lines arises from various causes, such as the vicinity of seas, continents, mountain chains, or forests; but the irregularity observable in the curves which surround the pole is produced by warm currents, and more especially by the Gulf Stream, the vapours of which are borne even to that extreme point of the earth by the south-west winds which prevail in high latitudes.

Tracing the two isothermal lines most contiguous to the pole, we find that of +14° Fahr. cuts the northern part of Bear Lake, in North America, lat. 60° 48', thence it ascends to the vicinity of Fort Reliance, lat. 62° 46', and then rises abruptly towards the north. The curve of the old continent traverses Nova Zembla, passes near Jakouzk, in Siberia, lat. 62° 2', then advancing towards the north-east, it attains Nischni-Kolymsk, in lat. 68° 18'. The isotherm of +5° Fahr. passes to the south of Melville Island, lat. 74° 43', by Elizabeth Harbour, lat. 65° 59', thence rises to the north of Igloolik, lat. 69 20', and the north of Siberia. The isotherms of the Old and New worlds separate within the Arctic circle, and encircle two poles of maximum cold, which Brewster places in the eightieth parallel of north latitude; one in the meridian of 100° W., a few degrees north of Bathurst Island, and the other near Cape Taimura, in Siberia. To these poles the mean temperatures of +2° 54 and +1° 04 have been respectively assigned.

Owing to the absence of experimental data, the temperature of the terrestrial pole itself can only be a matter of conjecture. However, from observations made in regions contiguous to it, its temperature has been assumed by approximation; although on this point eminent scientific authorities are at variance, as they naturally may be on a question undetermined by actual observations.

Thus, M. Kämtz\* assumes the mean annual tempe-

\* *Cours de Météorologie.*

rature of the pole to be— $5^{\circ}7$  centigrade, or  $+21.74$  of Fahr.; M. Pouillet\* gives it as— $25^{\circ}$  cent., or  $+13^{\circ}$  Fahr.; while Mrs. Somerville † computes it as  $+4^{\circ}$  or  $5^{\circ}$ .

The temperature of the atmosphere in high latitudes has been found very irregular, and the changes sudden and extreme. On one day in April, 1820, Parry observed the thermometer range from— $32^{\circ}$  to  $+32^{\circ}$  in Melville Island; and McClure entered Mercy Bay on the 24th September, 1852, with the temperature at  $+33^{\circ}$ , and no ice in the Bay, while on the same day of the succeeding year it was at  $+2$ , and thick ice all round. In January, 1853, the mean was— $44^{\circ}$ , 17 degrees below the corresponding period of the previous year, and one day the temperature averaged— $62^{\circ}$ . In January, 1831, Ross found the mercury stood several days at— $49^{\circ}$ . The mean of the month of April, 1832, he gives us— $47^{\circ}$ ; and the temperature one day in February, 1833, was— $55^{\circ}$ . He observes that all the coldest days occurred near full moon, and the highest temperature immediately after the change. †

Of the atmospheric pressure at the Polar Circles we may generally observe that the diurnal variation of the barometer diminishes as we approach to the pole, and is marked by irregular oscillations, whose amplitude increases according as we remove from the equator. From the 60th to the 70th degree of north latitude the diurnal variation becomes *nil*, and approaching nearer to the pole the expressions of the mean oscillations became negative. The longest series of observations made by Parry at Port Bowden, in lat.  $73^{\circ} 14' N.$ , give the diurnal variation of the barometer as—0.273 inches.

With regard to the temperature of the Polar Seas north of the 70th parallel of latitude, it has been found to increase with the depth. The same may be said of the sea around Greenland; but in Davis' Straits and Baffin's Bay the temperature of the water decreases with the depth.

Among the most interesting results which have been ascertained by such investigations, are those which have reference to the distribution and force of terrestrial magnetism in the regions surrounding the North Pole. This

\* *Éléments de Physique.*      † Connection of the Physical Sciences.

† The extremes of cold suffered by Arctic explorers are almost inconceivable. The extremes endured by Captain Back, in  $62^{\circ} 46\frac{1}{2}' N.$  lat., was— $70^{\circ}$ ; that experienced by Ross in Elizabeth Harbour— $80^{\circ}$ ; and that felt by McClure in Mercy Bay— $65^{\circ}$ .

most mysterious of nature's powers, a splendid development of which is seen in the fitful resplendence of the Aurora, is spread in a higher measure of intensity in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere than in the corresponding ones of the southern. On glancing at a map which represents, on an orthographic projection, the course of magnetic curves of equal intensity, we find that as these lines recede from the magnetic equator, they form a series of curves, which become more parabolic as they approach the geographical pole, until they culminate in two points of maximum intensity, called the magnetic poles. One of these maxima was discovered by Sir James Ross to lie in lat.  $70^{\circ} 5' 17''$ , and long.  $97^{\circ}$  W.; the other has been placed in northern Siberia, in  $120^{\circ}$  E. long.\*

Without tracing the isodynamic curves as we have done the Arctic isothermal lines, we shall briefly group together the magnetic intensities comprised between several parallels of latitude, as furnished us in the map attached to Colonel Sabine's able report to the British Association. The intensities from 1 to 1.3 extend from the 10th to near the 30th parallel of north latitude; those from 1.3 to 1.7 are comprised between the 30th and 60th parallels; and those from 1.7 and upwards are enclosed between the 60th and 70th parallels, within which space the magnetic intensity is greatest. †

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\* The obvious analogy between the course of the isothermal curves of our hemisphere and that of the isodynamic lines, or those of equal magnetic intensity, as well as the contiguity of the poles of magnetism and of cold, seem to indicate clearly that the distribution of magnetism is intimately connected with that of heat.

† We append the intensities observed at various stations within the Arctic Circles, the longitudes being E.

Place.	Lat.	Long.	Intensity.
Spitzbergen	$79^{\circ}40'$	$11^{\circ}40'$	1.562
Melville Island	$74^{\circ}27'$	$248^{\circ}18'$	1.624
Baffin's Bay	$75^{\circ}51'$	$296^{\circ}54'$	1.618
Regent's Inlet	$72^{\circ}45'$	$270^{\circ}19'$	1.668
Byam Martin Isd.	$75^{\circ}10'$	$256^{\circ}16'$	1.653
Possession Bay	$73^{\circ}31'$	$282^{\circ}38'$	1.637

We may as generally observe of the isoclinal lines of these regions, or those lines in which the magnetic needle makes an equal angle with the true meridian, that they form circles parallel to the equator in low latitudes ; but this parallelism decreases as the latitude augments, and they finally form a series of irregular curves around the magnetic and terrestrial poles.

Of the Polar currents we may briefly remark that a surface and under current have been found to exist ; the former being influenced by the prevailing winds, and the latter setting due east. Thus light ice-floes are borne in the direction of the wind, while the heavier, penetrating far into the under current, are seen drifting in the opposite direction. The great Polar current which runs along the western shores of Greenland has been ascribed to the tangential force produced by the earth's rotation as causing the waters near the pole to flow towards the equator ; but it evidently arises from the annual melting of the circum-polar ice, whose waters, superimposed on those of the surrounding seas, pour their superfluous volume towards the equator to supply the waste occasioned by excessive evaporation in the seas between the tropics.

The refraction of the solar light is very great near the pole, owing to the density of the atmosphere in the regions around it, and the oblique directions of the sun's rays. From this cause arises the deceptive appearance of objects as to size and distance with which Arctic explorers have been struck ; and this condition of the atmosphere conduces to the production of parheliae, and other similar optical phenomena. It is this high refractive power also which lends to the long Polar twilight those rich, golden, and roseate hues which invest the Arctic skies with a loveliness denied to more southern and happier climes.

The geological features of these regions are highly interesting ; but they have as yet been so imperfectly explored that we are only enabled to state that granite, gneiss, and limestone formations are found to a considerable extent, and that copper and iron ores exist there in large quan-

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These values were ascertained by Sabine in 1819—20 ; but observations made in the same places in consecutive years since show that they have undergone an appreciable variation, and that the magnetic currents of the northern hemisphere are gradually flowing in a direction nearly from west to east.

tities, as well as an abundance of coal, a supply of which Captain Inglefield procured in the Island of Disco, and found excellent. The petrified forest, discovered by Captain McClure in Baring Island, "composed of an entire mass of wood in every stage, from a petrefaction to a log fit for firewood," confirms the theory of a high temperature having once prevailed in these regions, and of the gradual refrigeration of the climate. We may finally observe that, although free from volcanic actions, such as prevail throughout the great Antarctic continent, changes in the physical structure of the islands and continents of the Arctic seas are carried on upon a stupendous scale from the ceaseless falling of mountain masses, disintegrated by the melting of the snows which surround them, or by the pressure of the ever-moving glaciers, and from the rapid abrasion of the shores by the friction of enormous icy masses.\*

After having thus hurriedly glanced at the scientific portion of our subject, it now only remains to notice briefly Lady Franklin's Letter to the Lords of the Admiralty. It must be in the recollection of our readers that a notice was issued by the Admiralty in last January to the effect that if intelligence were not received of the officers and crews of the "Erebus" and "Terror" being alive before the 31st of last March, they would be considered as having died in Her Majesty's service. Against this decision Lady Franklin appeals, and demands that the results of the search now being carried on in the Polar Basin may not be anticipated, and the fate of her husband

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\* In the above imperfect outline we have left unnoticed the Arctic fauna and flora. The former, however, is so well known from Polar narratives as to need no mention, and the latter consists almost wholly of the humble but interesting class, cryptogamia. As illustrative of some individuals of that class, we transcribe the following passage from *Somerville's Connection of the Physical Sciences* :—

"In the Arctic regions the snow not only produces a red alga, but affords shelter to the productions of these inhospitable climes against the piercing winds, that sweep over fields of everlasting ice. The Arctic explorers relate, that under this cold defence plants spring up, dissolve the snow a few inches round, and the part above, being again quickly frozen into a transparent sheet of ice, admits the sun's rays, which warm and cherish the plants in this natural hot-house, till the returning summer renders this protection unnecessary."

and his companions too hastily prejudged. Recapitulating the various expeditions which have been despatched in search of them, from that of Sir J. Ross, in 1848, up to the latest, she shows that every direction has been searched except that in which Sir E. Belcher is at present exploring —namely, the Polar Basin, north of Wellington channel, and feelingly implores the Admiralty not to close this sole avenue of hope by the premature recall of the searching squadron.

Even did our waning space permit, it would be quite profitless to discuss or even passingly notice the various conjectures which have been formed as to the fate of the Franklin expedition. Exposed for such a protracted time to the dangers which incessantly threaten the Arctic navigator, we must consider that fate as no longer problematical ; but, assuming that the expedition were destroyed, conjectures as to the *mode* by which its destruction was effected are a mere waste of words, besides being calculated to wound the feelings of the relatives and friends of the lost mariners. To be crushed like a filbert between two meeting floes, or dashed by the icy masses on some of the islands which stud the Arctic waters, or whelmed beneath a capsized berg, or hurried helplessly by the drifting pack into the Polar Sea, are some among the perils which beset the mariner in the treacherous navigation of the Arctic Seas. Had any of the three first accidents occurred to Franklin's vessels, some relics of the wrecks would be found. The absence of any vestige of the ships renders it extremely probable that the last has been their fate. It has been supposed that they sailed up Wellington channel into the open sea beyond it. It is true that this would be deviating from the course laid down in Franklin's instructions, in which he was directed to make for Cape Walker, and thence to the S.W., without diverging north or south of Barrow's Straits ; but in this navigation, instructions cannot be fulfilled to the letter, and a discretion must be left to commanders of Arctic expeditions to act according to circumstances.

It is probable that, like Captain McClure, he found the ice stretching from shore to shore in Barrow's Straits, and, knowing the value of every moment during the brief navigable season in these waters, that he sailed up Wellington Channel, which is more generally free from ice. Thus much for conjecture.

Ingenious as are the deductions of Lady Franklin in  
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support of the present existence of the missing navigators, they have not altered our painful conviction that all further search for them is useless. Nine years have now passed since the Franklin expedition, provisioned for four years, left the shores of England. Since then a large portion of the Arctic seas has been swept by several expeditions, the sole result of which has been, so far as their main object was concerned, the discovery of Franklin's first winter quarters in 1845-6 near Cape Reily. Coupled with the time since elapsed, this is sufficiently discouraging; but as it affords only negative evidence susceptible of being construed either in favour of the actual safety of the expedition, or the reverse, we can but have recourse to the opinions of the experienced Arctic navigators, whose despatches lie before us. Of these opinions that of the commander of the squadron now searching in that part of the Polar seas which has been hitherto unexplored is entitled to most consideration. Sir E. Belcher observes, in his late despatches, "If Sir John Franklin passed through this (Queen's) channel to the southward of Barrow and Parker Islands, and met the floe moving westerly, he never could reach, as far as we can discover, any place of refuge;" and he adds, "If he could not, as we did, haul in and secure shelter, no other chance remained but to drive where the floe carried him; and the mind of any man contemplating its force here, leaves nothing but destruction as the inevitable result." The probable abundance of the resources for supporting life within the region into which her husband is supposed to have entered is one of the grounds on which Lady Franklin bases her hopes; but we are pained to find that it is at least partially destroyed by the researches of Sir E. Belcher, who states that all traces of animal life disappeared on advancing northward from Exmouth Island, in the Polar Basin.

While thus expressing our fears for the safety of the missing navigators, we cannot here withhold the tribute of our sympathy and admiration for the noble-minded woman who has written the touching appeal before us, as much on behalf of the crews of the "Erebus" and "Terror," as on that of their gallant chief, who richly merits the beautiful affection which she manifests for him.\* After having

\* The following passage from Captain Back's narrative is highly illustrative of Franklin's humane disposition. "It was the custom

expended her entire fortune on the cause in which her very being is absorbed, after having suffered years of anxiety and baffled hopes, we still see her, hopeful as ever, and urging, with an undying love, renewed efforts for the rescue of her husband and his comrades. Although we do not participate her hopes, we earnestly pray that they may be realised.

It is gratifying to know that Lady Franklin's eloquent appeal has not been fruitless. In the House of Commons, on the night of the 5th April last, Sir James Graham stated, in reply to a question of Sir T. Acland, that a discretionary power would be given to the ships engaged in the search, to pursue it as long as they should deem it necessary, and that the names of the officers and crews of the missing vessels would not, for the present, be erased from the Navy List, as had been intimated by the Admiralty notice. Thus even official coldness has been warmed, for the twelfth time, in the cause of humanity, by the quenchless hope and enthusiasm of this noble woman,—an enthusiasm which has animated, as it still inspires, the crowds of devoted men who have vainly striven, and yet strive, to penetrate the veil which shrouds the mysterious fate of Franklin and his companions.

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of Sir John Franklin never to kill a fly, and, though teased by them beyond expression, especially when engaged in taking observations, he would quietly desist from his work, and patiently blow the half-gorged intruders from his hands,—‘the world was wide enough for both.’”

*Note on Prince Albert's Land*, p. 55.—The discovery of this island beautifully completes the researches of Austin and Rae, who, a short time previous, traced its southern shores, (to which they gave the name of Wallaston and Victoria Lands) and furnishes the last link in the chain of discovery south of Barrow's Strait; while it no less strikingly confirms the correctness of the position which has been assigned to its north-eastern extremity, under the name of Banks' Land, on our charts by the venerable prince of Arctic navigators, Sir Edward Parry.

ART. III.—1. *An Act to make further Provision for the good Government and Extension of the University of Oxford, and of the Colleges therein, and of the College of St. Mary, Winchester,* (17 and 18 Vict. cap. 81).

2. *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching*, by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. London : J. H. Parker, 1854.
3. *A few very plain Thoughts on the proposed admission of Dissenters to the University*, by the Rev. J. KEBLE, Vicar of Hursley, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Professor of Poetry.
4. *The National Miscellany*, for June, 1854.—Article, “*The Past and Present of Oxford.*” London : J. H. Parker.

IN our former article on this subject we mentioned expensive and extravagant tastes as the prevailing vice and bane of Oxford society. So far, indeed, has this been (and we fear still is) the case, that the acknowledged state of extravagance on the part of the young men during their college residence has been made the basis of every effort at university extension during the last ten years. It is not with a view to admit students, whose personal convictions or hereditary traditions forbid them to subscribe “the true and full meaning” of the Thirty-nine Articles, or to relax the exclusiveness of that religious system which Oxford more peculiarly represents, but to admit a *poorer* and a needier race of men,—a class of persons who fall short of the “fine gentleman” who is the too frequent produce of an Oxford education, but who are in fact the very nerve and sinew of our commercial and industrious middle classes,—it is for this purpose that the cry of “University extension” has been so loudly raised of late years. And to do justice to the promoters of the scheme, we ought to add that they started the subject and brought it before the public in a practical and tangible shape, nine years ago, long before the “Parliamentary Commission” was first hatched in the fertile brain of Lord John Russell.

It has been given as a rule-of-three sum to the Commissioners, “If an Oxford education at present, and under the existing system, costs from £800 to £1000, how

much will it cost, if we can get certain alterations made in the system?" This sum, it is clear, cannot be worked out until a previous question has been answered, namely, what alteration is it possible to make in the aforesaid system, now that the colleges have absorbed the university and obtained a monopoly of education? This "previous question" was solved by Her Majesty's Commissioners, by the suggestion of four plans, more or less intimately connected with each other, and all involving, more or less, return to the original principles on which the university was founded. These were, 1, the establishment of new halls, in connexion with the existing colleges, as affiliated bodies; 2, their establishment as independent societies; 3, the granting of permission to undergraduates to lodge in private houses more extensively than at present, still retaining, however, the existing connexion with their colleges; 4, permission to students to become members of the university, and to be educated by the university under due superintendance, without subjecting them to the expenses incident to a college or hall.

But how was it that the authorities of the university could do nothing in this matter, nay, could not stir a hand or foot towards lowering the expenses of the place, without coming to parliament to demand an enabling act? We will answer in the words of the Report.

"The restrictions on the energies of the university are, like many others which we have had occasion to mention, imposed by the Laudian Code. By the provisions of that code no student can be a member of the university without being a member of the college or hall, in which he is constantly to take his meals, and to lodge at night. No college is permitted to lodge its members in buildings adjacent to the college, unless they be so situated as to have no entrance except through the common gate. Since the days of Laud, two Halls (Gloucester Hall and Hart Hall) have been turned into colleges. The latter of these has, however, become extinct. No new places of education have since been created; nor is there, so far as appears, any provision in the University Statutes for establishing a new college or hall without the assistance of the Crown or of the legislature."

That some, at least, of the resident members of the university feel these restrictions to be real grievances, and would gladly see them removed, is evident from the following paragraph of Mr. Pattison's very able and useful evidence, p. 43.

"It is incumbent, indeed," he writes, "on a university to be cautious and deliberate in all its proceedings. But experiments are not necessarily rash—there are wise ones—there are even wise experiments in legislation which do not answer, and then to desist from them involves no disgrace..... We, in Oxford, are weary of scheming, suggesting, and pamphleteering. Give us leave to be doing something. Untie our hands, and open our gates, and let us at least try if we can attract here, and can usefully deal with that larger circle of youth whom we are told we ought to have here. If only a little relaxation is given us, and if then our numbers do not increase, it will be impossible to avoid ascribing that to the usual abortiveness of half-measures. But, indeed, the utmost that is now asked for is truly little. The ideal of a national university is that it should be co-extensive with the nation—it should be the common source of the whole of the higher (or secondary) instruction for the country ; but the proposed measure would, after all, only go part of the way towards making it co-extensive with that part of the nation which supports the Established Church. If we can only draft in 500, say 300 students (additional), from a class whose education has hitherto terminated with the national school or the commercial academy, the good that would be effected by acting even on this moderate scale cannot be represented by figures. It would be the beginning of a system by which the university would strike its root freely into the subsoil of society, and draw from it new elements of life, and sustenance of mental and moral power."

But as to the four plans proposed ; Mr. Temple, the head of Kneller Hall Training College, near Twickenham, suggested that halls might be established in Oxford, and severally affiliated to the existing colleges, each being placed under the superintendance of some fellow of the college to which the hall belonged. His opinion is, that if in these halls all meals were in common, and each student occupied a single room only, and the university and Her Majesty's Government would remit the fees paid to them upon taking degrees, and if the *Professorial Staff* of the University were restored to its former efficiency, the annual expenses of each student for the academic year, of six months' duration, need not exceed £30, assuming, of course, that the college would be compelled to endow its hall out of its superfluous wealth ; and even omitting the two assumptions above mentioned, and supposing the warden and sub-warden of the college had to be maintained and paid by the students, and to act as their tutors, and deliver lectures, he calculates that the total expense of education in such halls need not amount to above £70 or £75 a year.

But against this scheme the Commissioners very wisely placed the practical difficulties arising from the cost of a site and buildings for such purposes, as well as other considerations of a different character, and accordingly they negatived the first of the four above mentioned plans with the following remarks :

" We have no wish to encourage ' poor scholars ' to come to the university because they are poor. If we look to the wants of the country and the (Established) Church, we must believe that what is needed is not a philanthropic scheme for counterbalancing the inequalities of fortune, but rather enactments which will provide that neither the rich nor the poor, if they have the necessary qualifications, shall be deterred or debarred from following the course in which they can be most useful. What is needed is justice, directed to the removal of every impediment, every unnecessary expense ; not charity, designed to produce, under artificial stimulants, a large class of students without vocation or special aptitude for a learned profession. What is needed is encouragement to merit and industry ; so that every promising youth, however poor, shall be able to command assistance to support him in the university. We hope that such encouragement will be amply provided, as it can easily be, and that colleges will be so regulated as to enable all young men who have gained a scholarship to go through the Oxford course with as little expense as would be incurred in affiliated halls, even according to the estimate of their warmest supporters. We also hope that the measures which we shall recommend will bring the expense of a university education within so moderate a compass, that few or none of those who have received the previous training indispensable for an Academical career will be excluded from its benefits ; and that those who are poor, whether they can obtain a scholarship or not, will find it possible to arrive at a degree even more cheaply than is contemplated by the supporters of the halls in question." — p. 40.

The second plan recommended to Her Majesty's Commissioners was the foundation of independent halls, which some individuals were sanguine enough to think, would be soon accomplished by private subscription ; and in which the only difference from the plan proposed by Mr. Temple (so far as we can see) would consist in the absence of all ties to any existing college. They seem to think that much good might be effected, much extravagance checked, diligence secured, and morals guarded in such institutions if placed under a rigid superintendance and watchful discipline.

" But," they added, " it must be remembered that the discipline

must be rigid and the superintendance watchful indeed, which would completely prevent those evils, the possibility of which is inseparable from human liberty ; and, that in proportion as this liberty was diminished, the benefits would be lost which Providence has attached to its due exercise. If the students were strictly confined within walls, compelled to take all their meals in common, kept from free intercourse with each other in private, and thus restrained from the idle habits which such intercourse often produces, we may admit that during the academical six months, they would be comparatively safe from many of the ordinary temptations of undergraduate life. But it can hardly be supposed that the general result of such a system would be suitable to the character of the English Church, and of the English people. And yet it is doubtful whether any less stringent restraints would offer a complete guarantee."—p. 43.

Another ground of objection taken by the Commissioners was the probability that these new halls would become hotbeds and nurseries of religious discord. As soon as leave is given to found them, they expect that Dr. Pusey and his friends, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Marriott, and Archdeacon Denison, will set to work, and found a St. George's or St. Peter's Hall where "Anglo-Catholicism" of the highest order shall flourish and abound, where the Articles will be "snubbed," and the liturgical parts of the Prayer Book alone dwelt upon ; where no meat will be allowed on Fridays, and where the "Library of the Fathers" and of "Anglo-Catholic Theology," and all the most approved books of "Catholic" devotion from the press of Messrs. Masters, and Parker, will be encouraged ; where weekly communion and the constant confessional will be continually alarming the nerves of papas and mammas, and rousing the most malignant suspicions of the "Record," and the Exeter Hall school of divines ; while probably they may even anticipate a day when Lords Shaftesbury, Harrowby, and Blandford, with Mr. Close, Mr. Hatchard, and Mr. Hobart Seymour will put down their names for large subscriptions in order to carry out the plan of a truly Protestant Institution, under the name of "Wycliffe," or "Cranmer," or (possibly) "Sumner" Hall, where the Thirty-Nine Articles, and two books of Homilies, Jewell's Apology, Scott's Commentary, Dr. Cumming's Lectures, and Bickersteth's Scripture Help, shall do their best towards inculcating the Supremacy of the Holy Scripture, the full right of Private Judgment, and the cardinal doctrine of "Justification by Faith" after the newest and

most approved interpretation. But then, they are consoled by the philosophical reflection that "it will be all the same a hundred years hence," and that the most zealous partisans must, sooner or later, learn by experience that they cannot take any measures which will secure the permanent occupation of their own halls by men of like tenets to their own. They allow far more weight to a further objection, namely, that in the course of time the new halls would sink down into the stagnation and indifference which is the normal character of the existing halls, where education is dear and bad too; and accordingly, they give the benefit of the doubt against the proposed plan.

At the same time they are anxious to have the Laudian Code fully and effectually repealed, so as to enable those who wish to set on foot the scheme of independent halls, to do so with as little restriction and delay as possible.\*

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\* After full discussion of the matter in the House of Commons and Lords, the clause which licensed the erection of independent halls was affirmed by a considerable majority, against the violent opposition of Messrs. Walpole and Henley. And what is more, these halls may be opened by any Master of Arts whatever who can procure the Vice-Chancellor's license, even though he does not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. It is not a little singular that at the present moment the only persons, besides the Anglicans themselves, who are qualified to open halls of the above kind in Oxford, are those individuals who have become converts to the Catholic religion. Father Newman, we observe, writes with a deep, and we doubt not well-founded, regret for the charming repose and tranquillity of Oxford as a seat of study, but he would speak with equal distrust of the proffered boon, even if the university professoriate were restored, and its appointments thrown open to all creeds, and the Protestant body on their part were resolved to do justice to their Catholic brethren. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* is the substance of his words. Others of the Catholic body, however, as we happen to know, would most gladly avail themselves of a course of university study at Oxford, if they could but feel sure that their faith would not be tampered with; and it is by no means true that Mr. F. Lucas had a right to disclaim, on behalf of the entire Catholic body, all wish to obtain a footing in the university of Oxford. It is quite certain that if we were admitted there, we should inspire others with quite as much fear of us as we feel of them; and we cannot but think that timidity on our part seems to argue something like a distrust in the goodness of our cause, and the vast superiority of our religion and its means of grace, as compared with those which belong to our Protestant breth-

The 3rd plan, which proposed to enable the students to reside more generally in lodgings than was allowed under the old stereotyped Code of Laud, still, however, retaining their connection with the existing colleges, was met at once by the objection that, although it would enable the university to accommodate more students without any immediate or even distant outlay, still it was one which would not of necessity diminish the expense of a university education, while it might even increase it;—the rent of lodgings being dearer than the rent of College rooms;—while that far larger portion of a student's expenditure, which arises from intercourse with his society, would be incurred by him all the same. The plan, however, as the Commissioners of Her Majesty remarked, would have one beneficial effect, namely, that of emptying such colleges as are badly conducted, and leading them in the long-run to some useful reforms in self-defence.

The 4th plan was that which the Commissioners recommended most strongly, as the only hope of really mending the present miserably vicious system of the colleges—vicious, we mean, in the way of extravagance. It is nothing more nor less than a simple removal of the monopoly which they have so long enjoyed, by permitting students to become members of the university, and to receive a university education, without incurring the expenses incidental to a college or hall.

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ren. In proof of our assertion, let our readers observe the following remarks of Mr. Keble in his recent pamphlet, entitled "A Few very plain Thoughts on the Proposed Admission of Dissenters to the University of Oxford." On page 4 he writes, "So far as Oxford may still continue to be peopled more or less by earnest persons, just so far will it henceforth be a place of restless strife and divisions, perplexities, heart-breakings, and fallings away, probably to an extent of which nothing that has yet happened can give us the smallest idea. Only consider for a moment what manner of men they are who have gone out from among us.....and imagine what power they will have to unsettle and draw after them zealous but half-informed minds, when the door will be opened to them in such a place as Oxford will then be, to set their own apparent unity and self-denial side by side with the prevailing indifference. And consider what a fearful reaction this will cause, when all who cannot accept all their teaching will be tempted to combine against them, and in combining to give up (it may be) the very links which bind us to the (Established) Church at all."

"The absorption of the university by the colleges," they write, "has been often brought before us in the evidence, and has been already noticed in previous parts of our Report. Great as are the advantages which the colleges have conferred on the university, we cannot doubt that both the one and the other have suffered from the extent to which their amalgamation has been carried; and that the restoration of the university to its proper superiority would, independently of all other considerations, be a great benefit. The monopoly of teaching by the colleges has gone far to extinguish the professorial system in Oxford, and, consequently, to impair, if not to destroy, the character of the university as a seat of learning. The absence of competition has encouraged the apathy which has rendered some of the most powerful and wealthy of the colleges the least useful. The strong college feeling engendered by the present system has superinduced a neglect, we might almost say an unconsciousness, of the claims of the university on the affections and exertions of its members, such as could hardly have existed had there been a body of men attached to the university, but unconnected with the colleges. For these and other reasons we feel it to be a matter of great importance to raise up by the side of the colleges an independent body, which will bear witness to the distinct existence of the university, and excite the colleges to greater exertion.

"The proposed plan has the great advantage of virtually embracing the most feasible and useful parts of the various schemes already suggested.....No outlay of capital would be required. This plan would admit of indefinite extension without loss of time, and of as rapid contraction. Its permanency would depend not on the benevolence or zeal of individuals or societies, which might be transient, but on the interest both of parents and of students. It would enable the latter to obtain instruction from the eminent men, who may be induced by the measures we shall hereafter suggest to become professors resident in Oxford. They would not, as is now often the case, be restricted to such assistance as the college tutors give, whether great or little; nor would they be obliged to incur the heavy expense of a private tutor, in cases where more able and careful instruction may be needed."

The great objection urged against the admission of such a class of students into the university, namely, that it will have a tendency to impair the high tone of polished and gentlemanly feeling, which (it must be confessed,) generally characterizes an Oxford education, is answered on the part of the Commissioners by the expression of a counter-hope that the new class of students, if they make their presence felt at all, will tend to introduce among members of colleges more frugal and quiet habits, and so discourage

'those extravagant ways of thinking and living which now deter many parents from sending their sons to Oxford at all.'\*

\* Under the head of "University Intelligence," we learn from the *Times* of May 17, that a new form of statute was proposed in Convocation at Oxford on the 23rd of May last. The leading objects of the following proposed alterations were.—1. to enlarge the power of the Vice-Chancellor to permit junior members of colleges and halls, on application from the heads of their respective societies, to reside in the town with their relatives or others, for some special reason, approved by the Vice-Chancellor; 2, to provide better regulations for the lodging-houses in which students are allowed to reside; 3, to permit colleges and halls to annex to themselves, subject to certain conditions, "affiliated houses" for the reception of their members, such houses being under special regulations in regard to economy, or otherwise, at the discretion of the college or hall to which they may be annexed; 4, to permit the establishment of "independent halls," to be placed under special regulations for diminishing the expenses of the students.

This statute was submitted to the votes of the House in three separate portions. And in the same Convocation the subjoined decree was proposed, sanctioning certain regulations respecting lodging-houses for junior members of the university.

That the request from any head of a college or hall for the above-mentioned license shall certify:—

"That the master or mistress of the house in which the scholar is to lodge is, to the best of his belief, a fit person to receive lodgers, and has signed the following engagement:—

"'1. I will be myself resident so long as any members of the university are lodging in my house.

"'2. I will have the doors of my house locked at 9 o'clock at night, and will note down the hour after 9 o'clock at which any junior member of the university lodging in my house shall enter or leave his lodgings.

"'3. I will deliver or send a list every morning to the porter of the college or hall to which any such lodger in my house belongs, in time to be by him inserted in his gate-bill.

"'4. I will report, at the same time, to the dean, or some other officer of the college or hall, if any such lodger in my house shall pass the night out of his lodgings.

"'5. I will not allow, on any account, a key of any outer door of my house to any such member of the university lodging therein.

"'6. I will not supply or receive into my house, except from his own college or hall, a meal for any such lodger, without a written permission from some officer of his college or hall.'

Of the above proposed alterations the 1st., 2nd., and 3rd. were

It is shown by experience that this is the only plan which will enable the "poor student" to enjoy the advantages of Oxford, because it is the only one under which a student can live in as great obscurity and retirement as he pleases, without being exposed to ridicule. He will have no college fees to pay; no college servants, far wealthier than himself, to pay; no college library and college boat to support by annual subscriptions; no "caution" money\* to deposit in the hands of his college on going into residence; no furniture to purchase on first starting upon his university career. He will live in his own lodgings; and instead of being obliged to fall in with the existing state of things, and to obey the tyrannical exactions of an artificial state of society, or else to put up with the silent contempt of his wealthy and thoughtless fellow-students, he will be able to live as humbly as he pleases, to abstain from wine and desserts, from luxurious breakfasts and hot suppers, and the not less mischievous because more subtle and refined intellectual extravagance which shows itself in costly books and pictures. In fact, just as some poor and persevering medical students live in London, in the practice of rigid economy for some three or four years, while they are "walking the hospitals" or attending medical lectures, so it may be expected that at Oxford too, some ten years hence, there will be found some four hundred or five hun-

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adopted, and carried by a large majority; but the clause proposing the establishment of independent halls was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 14 to 25. It should be added, however, that the objections raised against the adoption of this latter plan appeared to be rather against the detail of the arrangements, than against the object itself. "It now remains," observes the *Times* of May 24, "for the university to show whether they are sincere or not in this project of university extension. We fear that it has only been adopted in consequence of the pressure from without, and that it will never be fairly and fully arrived at under the existing rulers.

\* This is a sum, varying, we believe, from £20 to £30, which every individual has to deposit with the bursar of the college on his matriculation, as a guarantee against any debts that he may incur. The yearly income derived to the college funds from this source, at all events in the more numerous colleges, must be considerable, as it is usually invested in the funds or other securities. We should add that the money is usually returned to the individual when he ceases to be a member of the college by withdrawing his name from its "Books."

dred students above the present number, studying mathematics and physical science under the university professors, and living a hard and self-denying life in privacy. Then would be, indeed, realized the *fallentis semita vitæ*. The universities of Scotland\* exhibit many instances of poor students fighting on very narrow means the battle of life; and, as Her Majesty's Commissioners remark, "such brave struggles might be witnessed in Oxford too, if the poor were admitted to the university, as of old, without being forced to join any college or hall."

But it is thought by some great upholders of the college system, that the proposed plan will produce laxity and

\* The following passages of a Parliamentary Blue Book will be read with interest, in connection with the proposal of admitting university students at Oxford, unconnected with any college :

"What do you conceive might be the annual expense of living to students who attended King's College (Aberdeen) about ten years ago, when you were a professor?—I should think it would vary. I have known students pass the five months at King's College as low as £11 or £12, exclusive of fees; but that was an extreme case. But I should think that the average of what might be spent by students in the college, exclusive of fees, might be about £20 for the five months, or between that and £25. The lodging is very cheap there."—Evidence on the University of Glasgow, p. 211.

"I asked him if he meant that he lived on meal only, prepared in different ways? He said, 'Yes.' I then went to his landlady, and asked whether he was so poor as that he could not afford anything better? She said, 'Not at all; he has abundance of money.' I asked, 'What is it, then, that he does with it?' 'He lays it out on books'; and, says she, 'What do you think he paid me at the end of last Session for his whole necessaries? I bought for him everything that he required for food, and supplied him with fuel, candles, and lodging, and the whole amount was £4. 17s. for five months.' Now a young man trained in this way (and he was one of our best scholars) is capable of going through hardships and difficulties which a man trained in a different way could not do.

"Are a great proportion of your students in a situation of pecuniary difficulty? There are a great number of them that are, in fact, obliged to go home and work at farm-labour in order to enable them to come up the next session to college; and I have one gentleman in my eye who, I am sure, will be an honour to any profession he enters upon, who was obliged to do so—that is, to hold the plough and cut the harvest; and I scruple not to say that he is one of the best scholars that ever was within the walls of the university."—Evidence on the University of Aberdeen, p. 14.

immorality ; and that the location of students in private lodgings will expose them to too great temptations. To this it is answered, that at present every student after twelve terms of residence, is forced to take lodgings for the remainder of his time ; and secondly, that morality is not secured by residence within college walls. "The very congregation of numbers," says Professor Wall, "the facilities of stepping from room to room, and for making up parties of pleasure, have their evils. One or two bad men may, and often do, work immense mischief in a college. Many a youth who comes up well-disposed is ruined by bad society in his college—society which he was not likely to have known had he been in private lodgings." Moreover there is a certain amount of truth in the following remark of the Commissioners themselves :

"Whatever degree of license now prevails, we think that the really poor scholars would not be in much danger. They would not have credit at command ; they would be exposed to fewer temptations, and would be less likely to give way to them. We have already had occasion to observe how greatly the extravagance and vice of the students depend on their idleness and means of indulgence. There is every reason to hope, on the other hand, that poverty, and the guarantee implied in poverty that such students would come to the university only for the sake of study, would act as a direct hindrance to vice, and as an inducement to good conduct."—Report, p. 52.

Dr. Pusey's new work on "Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline" comes in here ; we must own that we have received considerable advantage and instruction from its perusal, and that it is a very instructive work for our Catholic readers. With the relative merits of teaching by college tutors or university professors we are not at present concerned ; but he certainly shows most completely that, upon the whole, the collegiate system in point of fact, has worked the better of the two so far as concerns the morality of the students. In order to establish this point by safe and certain facts, the learned professor gives us a regular historical account of the colleges which composed the French universities, more especially that of Paris, as well as those established in Germany, and shows that colleges were established in order to protect students from the temptations of corrupt cities. He also gives a graphic account of the state of matters in Oxford and Paris during times anterior to the Reformation, and proves

that in every case the excesses committed by the students in those universities were attributed by cotemporary writers to the great difficulty of keeping any strict control over the "martinets," as those were called who attended the university lectures without lodging in colleges. The concluding remarks of Dr. Pusey are so apposite to the matter before us, and the charitable way in which he speaks of the members of another communion presents such a contrast to that which too many of our own writers adopt in reference to Oxford, that we venture to insert them at length. They refer more particularly, it should be remarked, to the university of Paris.

"In a great and corrupt capital, there must have been, and ever will be, sin. Whether it would have been better to have removed the university from Paris altogether, is a question which the heads of colleges there had not before them. They did what they could. And it appears from the account of the colleges at Navarre, Sorbonne, Calvi, Laon, and Plessi, that they did yield good and noble fruits. There is proof that, all along, the university of Paris was accounted to be as 'a river of God,' a 'fruitful field which God had blessed.' The very reforms show that there was no deep evil to be reformed as to the discipline of the colleges. Those who were confessedly the least disciplined, belonged to that very class which the Commissioners wish to bring into the university of Oxford, the 'martinets'; i. e., scholars living in private houses, and attending the public lectures. This class was done away with on account of its irregularities."—p. 159.

But when these poor "martinets" or university students are brought to Oxford, who shall teach them? They are not to belong to any college or hall; and as matters stand at present, the college tutors have absorbed in themselves the professorial staff of the university, and in their turn bid fair to be superseded at no distant time by the younger men who act as private tutors, and who, in that capacity, often make large incomes from the very moment that they have passed their own examination for classical honours. In the earliest period of the history of the university, as we have shown above, every resident master of arts was, or was supposed to be, a teacher.\* Gradually, however, as

\* The remembrance of these days is still traditionally observed in the ceremony of conferring the degrees of M.A., D.D., or D.C.L. On each of those who are presented for the above degrees is nominally bestowed the privilege of entering the schools and publicly

the university became more completely moulded into being, professors were appointed to deliver lectures before the university. About the time of the Reformation, *p̄æelectorships* or college-professorships would seem to have been established in the various colleges, and the college tutors did not exist as a definite and important body until the introduction of the examination for honours at the commencement of the present century. The university statutes nowhere even allude to the existence of such a race of beings as the college tutors; but still at present nearly the whole of the instruction of the university is practically vested in their hands.\* “Doubtless,” as Her Majesty’s

lecturing on the respective branch of knowledge, arts, divinity, or civil law. “To all of them,” says the Report, p. 90, “on their presentation for the degrees of Master or Doctor, the highest officer of the university, placing ‘the book’ on the head of each, utters in Latin these solemn words, ‘To the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the benefit of our holy mother the Church, by my authority and the authority of the whole university, I grant to thee the power of incepting in the faculty of arts, &c., lecturing and disputing, and doing all besides which pertains to the state of Doctor or Master in the said faculty, when thou shalt have completed all that relates to such solemnity; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’” It should be observed that these Regents in ancient times were called Masters, Doctors, or Professors,—terms originally synonymous, as is shown by the fact that “*Sanctæ Theologiæ Professor*” is the Latin equivalent for a “*Doctor of Divinity.*”

\* The following passage from the *Oratio Crewiana* of the late Professor Lowth, which we extract from Dr. Pusey’s volume, gives so graphic a description of Oxford life in the middle of the last century, (A.D. 1751) as contrasted with the same in times when the old professorial system flourished most vigorously, that we cannot resist the pleasure of laying it before our readers entire:—

“Carry back,” he says, “your minds to those times when, without fixed abodes, without homes of their own, men who studied here wandered at their will, scattered and dispersed through the city, inhabitants rather of taverns and cook-shops than guests of the Muses and denizens of the academy. As was their abode, so was also their mode of living. Their dwelling was not more unrestrained than their life. It shames me to relate how often, in this home of discipline and civilization, there reigned concupiscence and savagery; what barbarism of factions, what frenzy of discord, what fury and license in fighting, and even slaughter, when, in that confused and countless multitude, unknown, unclassified, uncontrolled by any domestic rules, they wandered about unbridled. Mark the dates,

Commissioners remark, "when the tutor acts with zeal and judgment, and the pupil answers to his care by confidence and respect, the connection is productive of great

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and we shall find that this savageness then began to soften and to wane, when those great patrons, or rather parents of letters, whose memory for their deserts to their country is blessed for evermore, had built houses here and formed societies, wherein men given to study might not only be supplied with the necessaries and decencies of life, but while they equally availed themselves of the public institutions of the university, might be held in by private discipline adapted to themselves, and by a well-regulated life ; and being committed to the care of their governor, as of a father of a family, and having instructors of their own, no less in morals than in literature, might be formed more carefully and more holily to all humanity, virtue, and piety. To these men, then, we owe in great measure not only the magnificence and splendour of the university, but what adorns the university much more, the cultivation of a greater refinement and courtesy of life, tranquillity, concord, order, moderation, and a more entire rule of liberal education. To them we owe that peculiar form of the academic body, which is part of the glory of our English nation, and which we have in common with Cambridge only, that most flourishing university, our most beloved companion and compeer. Looking at each English university, I see as many complete universities as there are colleges ; many cities, as it were, united by one common bond of alliance and society, of which many by themselves surpass many entire universities of no mean repute in foreign nations, in splendour of building, in largeness of possessions, copiousness of literary production, and (what is chief) in a discipline well ordered in gravity and holiness. .... When first these public lectures began to be instituted, the wider and more perfect knowledge of the sciences was not so common; nor were men to be readily found who could explain with adequate nicety and fulness the elements of each art. There was, besides, great lack of good books; people had to seek abroad what they had not at home. So then well-disposed youths went in crowds to the schools, heard the public Professor as an oracle, and hung upon his lips. When nearly an hour had passed away, they had to course up and down, to another and then another, the one expediting himself from the tangles of logic, the other gathering the flowers of rhetoric. At last they returned home, bringing back some little volumes filled, I know not how, with great labour, whence, out of a great farrago of things, they extracted a little something which might be of use. The aspect of things is different now; the convenience of studies is far greater ; letters flourish, various and manifold, wider and more generally diffused. Abundance of books of all sorts are at hand, both in college libraries and in the studies

and lasting benefit. The tutor, living within the same walls as his pupils, and (if he please) in friendly intercourse with them, may exercise a powerful influence on the minds of the many." But, on the other hand, it may be doubted whether the disadvantages belonging to the tutorial system are not greater. Each tutor has to get up, and deliver lectures on a variety of subjects, logic, history, Greek plays, and divinity; and this distraction is often enough to prevent him from lecturing well and efficiently on any. Again, a college tutorship is a transitory occupation; it is often held as an agreeable and profitable way of employing the few years which will probably pass away before the falling in of the expected rectory or vicarage of D—; and so has none of those aids which in regular professions are derived from regard to professorial credit, and the "sustained interest which a life pursuit possesses." The plan also of teaching in large lectures, in which the most backward and the most advanced are mingled together, and receive the same instruction, is probably as tiresome and profitless as Mr. R. Lowe's evidence represents it; while doubtless, as he remarks very forcibly, among the advantages of the system of private tuition are to be reckoned "the power of selection" for himself, which each young man possesses, and its "great efficacy in attaching the pupil to the tutor; the unfettered intercourse, the power of stating a difficulty without incurring ridicule, the greater equality of age and position, which all tend to give efficiency to the system." And yet the system of private tutors has its full accompaniment of defects.

"The persons into whose hands it principally falls are young men of unformed character, knowing little of the world, or probably of anything except the course of study by which they have gained

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of individuals: there is no lack of many teachers in the several colleges, eminent for learning, with whom young men study at home more conveniently, steadily, diligently, regularly, and with greater fruit; so that now for a long time the office of public Professor is with justice accounted as rather the reward of eminent learning and distinguished merit in literature than as wages for great and continuous labour. They then act perversely and unjustly who ask of our professors those elementary and every-day precepts of old times in that they would call us back to a mode of study less useful and clear, or ask that of them which, however much they will it, they cannot perform."—pp. 187—191.

distinction. They have, nevertheless, very great influence over their pupils, and are, from their youth, their sincerity, and their earnestness, the most dangerous missionaries of whatever opinions they take up. They are the persons who are really forming the minds of the undergraduates before they have formed their own. The university knows nothing of them, except their names in the class list; in their colleges they have no status, and it is quite optional with them whether they enter into the society there or no. Everything is entrusted to them, and no caution whatever is taken for the execution of the trust.....The moment they have taken their degree they are at once elevated to the highest intellectual eminence, and spend their whole time in teaching that which they have but just and barely learnt. The tendency to narrow the mind and generate habits of self-conceit is obvious. It also stands seriously in the way of their acquiring much useful knowledge; though this is in some degree compensated by the ardent desire to learn, which the habit of teaching is almost sure to produce."—Evidence of Mr. R. Lowe, M.P., p. 12.

The following sketch of the rise and decay of the professorial system is interesting in an antiquarian and historical point of view, if in no other.

"During the middle ages, whilst the whole governing body of the university consisted of teachers only, it need hardly be said that the flourishing state of the university indicated of itself a flourishing state of the university teaching. These ancient teachers generally gave place to the Praelectorship established by the university, or founded in certain colleges; and these praelectors were (in part at least) superseded by the endowed professors, who, in the Laudian Code, were formally acknowledged as the instructors of the university. Of the most ancient system, only the shadow was then, as it still is, preserved in the formula of granting degrees, and as is now no longer the case, by the delivery of six lectures on taking the degree. The college praelectors, except those of Christ Church, were never recognised by the university. But to the professors and their duties are assigned three long divisions of the Laudian Code, ranging through twenty-seven chapters, besides the special statutes intended to regulate many of the foundations.

"It may be, however, doubted, whether the professorial system ever attained a full development. The Civil Wars, and the ejection of one party after the other, interrupted the course of study for many years; and from these interruptions perhaps arose in some measure the torpor which reigned in Oxford during the last century.

"It has been already stated that the course of instruction, and the long series of exercises and of attendance on lectures, extending,

as the case might be, through three, seven, ten, fourteen, or eighteen years, has long since ceased to be enforced. It hardly needs to be stated that the delivery of statutable lectures has ceased also.

"That this was the case long before the close of the eighteenth century, is proved by the censure pronounced by Gibbon, a censure confirmed by the earlier testimony of Adam Smith, and the later experience of Sir William Jones. In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors 'have for these many years given up even the pretence of teaching.' \* There were, it is true, brilliant exceptions even then. Lowth, Blackstone, and Stowell conferred honour on their chairs and on the university. The spontaneous exertions of individuals to promote the study of natural philosophy in the last century have been already noticed. Dr. Buckland's Lectures on Geology were much resorted to for some years after the foundation of his readership. In still more recent times the name and character of Dr. Arnold attracted several hundred students. And no doubt an able and eloquent professor can command a numerous attendance if his lectures relate to subjects of general interest, bearing directly on the public examinations. Yet the general fact is unquestionable, that the professors are not now the teachers of the universities : † and that of all the

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\* Sheffield's Life of Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 36.

† This remark is true in more senses than one. There is one name, and perhaps one name only, among the professors of Oxford, which is looked upon with respect by the philosophical scholars of Germany, we mean Dr. Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Greek. The first question which foreigners ask on coming to Oxford is, where and when they can hear "the learned Gaisford lecture ?" and great is their surprise, we hear, when they are told that he gives no lectures, and has delivered none at all since his appointment. The fact is, that the endowment of his professorship is only some £40 a year, the same amount as when it was first founded by Henry VIII., so that the Rev. Doctor has some excuse to plead. But though he never lectures on Greek, Dr. Gaisford sometimes preaches in the Cathedral of Christ Church, and the following extract from a sermon reported to have been delivered by him one Christmas Day some ten or twenty years ago, will show what kind of a divine and a Christian the Rev. Doctor is. Speaking of classical studies, he observed that one of the great advantages derived from them was, that "they not only enabled a man to look down with calm contempt upon his less fortunate competitors, but also occasionally led to high preferments, to which considerable emoluments were attached." Apropos of this subject it may be remarked, that when, in 1843, the news reached Oxford that Dr. Buckland, then one of the Canons of that Cathedral, was appointed Dean of Westminster, the majority of the undergraduates were surprised to hear that he was a clergyman at all !

functions of the academic body, that which was once, and which in the statutes is still presumed to be, the most important, might cease to exist altogether, with hardly any perceptible shock to the general system of the place.

"This cessation of professorial teaching is designated by the Hebdomadal Board, in the document to which we have more than once referred, as a 'temporary interruption'; but it is an interruption which, so far as we can ascertain, has been the rule, and not the exception, for at least a century and a half."

Several causes have concurred to produce this result. As the colleges have absorbed the university, so also the influence of colleges has not been exerted in vain to absorb the university professoriate in the body of college tutors. Again the public examinations have a tendency to narrow the range of academical studies; and it is scarcely to be expected that young men who feel that their success in after life is mainly dependant on their proficiency in moral philosophy and classics, will bestow their time and labour on a subject which brings so little grist to the mill as physiology, chemistry, and the other physical sciences, to say nothing of theology, which seems to come in at the end of the university system as a graceful appendage, and an elegant superfluity.\* Another cause is to be found in the fact that at the time when it is wanted to throw new life and energy into the professorial body, the endowments of their chairs are, for the most part, nearly the same as they were at the period of their foundation, and have not increased in anything like a

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\* How different is the Theory of a University as propounded by Dr. Newman, in his Discourses on University Education. Take, for instance, the following forcible passage:—"But this, of course, is to assume that theology *is* a science, and an important one; so I will express myself in a more general form. I say, then, that if a university be, from the nature of the case, a place of instruction, where universal knowledge is professed, and if in a certain university, so called, the subject of religion is excluded, one of two conclusions is inevitable—either, on the one hand, that the province of religion is very barren of real knowledge, or on the other, that in such a university one special and important branch of knowledge is omitted. I say, the advocate of such an institution must say *this*, or must say *that*; he must own either that little or nothing is known about the Supreme Being, or that his seat of learning calls itself what it is not." pp. 39, 40. We imagine that the University of Oxford will prefer to accept the former of these two alternatives.

corresponding ratio to the increased value of money. This, of course, is a great drawback, especially in a university where the absence of celibacy, and the presence of a flourishing young crop of "olive branches" round the professorial table, makes it necessary for a man to lay by money if he takes to tuition in any shape as a profession. As the Report observes:—

"The endowments of the professorships, with three or four exceptions, are not such as to command the services of the ablest men, especially in a country like England, where the avenues of practical life are so open and so numerous. The revenues of colleges (as we shall have to show more fully hereafter) cannot retain young men at Oxford, now that celibacy is not, as of old, a necessary condition for holy orders. The ablest fellows of colleges, who might aim at becoming professors, are glad to accept livings, the masterships of schools, or any office which holds out the prospect of a settlement in life, and are thus, for the most part, lost to literature and science."\*

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\* The opinion of Dr. S. Johnson on this subject will be read with interest in connexion with the above recommendation. "The English Universities are not rich enough. Our fellowships are only sufficient to support a man during his studies to fit himself for the world, and, accordingly, are held in general no longer than till an opportunity offers of getting away. Now and then, perhaps, there is a fellow who grows old in his college; but this is against his will unless he be a man very indolent indeed. A hundred a year is reckoned a very good fellowship, and that is no more than is necessary to keep a man decently as a scholar. We do not allow our fellows to marry, because we consider academical institutions as preparatory to a settlement in the world. It is only by being employed as a tutor that a fellow can obtain anything more than a livelihood. To be sure a man who has enough without teaching will probably not teach; for we would all be idle if we could. In the same manner a man who is to get nothing by teaching will not exert himself. Gresham College was intended as a place of instruction for London; able professors were to read lectures gratis, but they contrived to have no scholars; whereas if they had been allowed to receive but sixpence a lecture from each scholar, they would have been emulous to have had many scholars. Every body will agree that it should be the interest of those who teach to have scholars; and this is the case in our universities. That they are too rich, is certainly not true; for they have nothing good enough to keep a man of eminent learning with them for his life. In the foreign universities a professorship is a high thing. It is as much almost as a man can make by his learning; and, therefore, we find the most learned men abroad are in the universities. It is not so with

It is accordingly proposed by Her Majesty's Commissioners to meet the increased demand for professorial instruction, which is likely to be an immediate result of the admission of a large influx of university students, by increasing the salaries of the existing professors, reconstructing the professorial body, and raising them to their original position in the university; and "calling in to their aid a body of younger men under the name of University Lecturers" (who will also be amply paid and allowed to commit matrimony *ad libitum*,) in order that the supremacy of learning and science may be duly recognized, that the permanent services of able men may be secured for academical purposes, and that the education of the place may be "conducted on general principles acknowledged and authorised by the university."—p. 102. With respect to the existing faculties of theology, philosophy, history, and mathematics, it is to be remarked, that although Her Majesty's Commissioners confess that the first mentioned science "is sufficiently provided for in numbers in distribution and endowment," they give an account of the progress of theology as a study in Oxford, which shows that its results\* are in a very inverse order to the means at

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us. Our universities are impoverished of learning by the penury of their provisions. I wish there were many places of a thousand a year at Oxford to keep first-rate men of learning from quitting the university." Undoubtedly if this were the case literature would have a still greater dignity and splendour at Oxford, and there would be grander living sources of instruction.—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. i.

\* Our readers will judge for themselves, from the following extract, what is the state of theological learning at Oxford. "Oxford still educates a large proportion of the clergy, but learned theologians are very rare in the university, and, in consequence, they are still rarer elsewhere. No efficient means at present exist in the university for training candidates for holy orders in those studies which belong peculiarly to their profession. A university training cannot indeed be expected to make men accomplished divines before they become clergymen; but the university must be to blame if theological studies languish. Few of the clergy apply themselves in earnest to the study of Hebrew. Ecclesiastical history, some detached portions excepted, is unknown to the great majority. The history of doctrines has scarcely been treated in this country. It may be safely stated that the Epistles of St. Paul have not been studied critically by the great bulk of those in

its disposal, and in no way to be compared with those of the very indifferently endowed chairs of the other faculties. This fact seems to have escaped the notice of Her Majesty's Commissioners ; and happily it is no concern of ours.

To carry out this professorial system in its integrity, a new scheme for amending the studies of the university is put forth by the Commission. In the year 1850, as many of our readers know, a wider range was given to the existing education, by adding to the classical and mathematical schools another school, of law and history, and a fourth school, of mathematical science, and by enacting that no one should be entitled to a degree who should not pass an examination in one school at least besides that of the classics. It will be observed that the scheme of the commissioners arranges the second and fourth of these schools under one "school," and severs from the sphere of *Literæ Humaniores*, or classics, all that range of subjects which is connected with mental philosophy and philology. It is intended by Her Majesty's commissioners, that after passing a previous examination in classics at an early period of his university career, each student shall be at liberty to pursue the bent of his own inclinations, and to devote himself to whichever branch he may think most conducive to success in his future progress. Thus the young man who was destined to the bar would betake himself to the school of jurisprudence and history ; the future Wellington, or Marlborough, or Davy, or Herschell, to that of mathematical or physical science, while infant Bentleys, and Parsons, and Elmsleys, and Gaisfords, would pursue philology, and youthful divines be sucking the marrow of the Anglican Reformers under the shadow of the school of theology, presided over by six learned Anglican divines, the majority of whom are appointed, and will continue to be appointed, (of course) by the Crown.

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orders. It is true that the English Church has produced great divines, and may boast at this moment of a body of clergymen perhaps more intelligent and accomplished than it ever before possessed. But they might well acquire more learning. We hope that the theological school of Oxford may yet be frequented by earnest students, as of old ; so that many among her sons may gain a profound acquaintance with the history and criticism of the Sacred Books, and with the external and internal history of the Church.' —Report, p. 71.

We are afraid that by this time we have nearly exhausted not only our own space, but what is worse, our readers' patience. But we cannot quit the subject of the Past and Present of Oxford without one or two words on the religious tests imposed there, to the exclusion of nearly all persons who dissent from the established religion of the country. The question as to the general expediency of the principle of exclusion does not come within the scope of her Majesty's Commissioners' Report, and hence they offer no direct opinion on the subject. Their statements, however, with respect to the fact of exclusion, and the manner in which that exclusion is effected, are worthy of some attention ; though we may remark, *en passant*, that several of the ablest of the resident members of the university, such as Professor Wall, Mr. Jowett, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Foulkes, are of opinion that the present policy ought to be abandoned. The history of the religious tests now imposed is as follows, according to the Report :—

"The subscriptions now in force were imposed upon the university by its chancellor, Lord Leicester, and king James I.; that to the Thirty-nine Articles by Leicester, in order to exclude the Roman Catholic or romanising party ; that to the Three Articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon by King James I., in order to exclude the Puritan party.

"There are several anomalies in the present practice.

"First, the subscriptions required on such occasions vary from each other in some important points.

"The subscription enjoined at matriculation is merely a signature of the name of a book, to which the XXXIX. Articles are prefixed. At the degree of B.A. and of M.A., and at most of the superior degrees, when the subscription is repeated, a declaration is made that the subscriber has read the Articles, or has heard them read, in the presence of the person who presents him. The candidate for a degree is also required to subscribe the three articles of the thirty-sixth canon, which are read aloud before him at the time of his presentation. It will be observed that these three articles are those which the clergy subscribe at their ordination, and that the obligation contained in the second, 'to use the forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other,' can, strictly speaking, be applicable only to clergymen. The subscription in question is, nevertheless, required by the university of lay graduates.

"Secondly, the matriculation subscription is not explained by any words in the statute, and seems to be open to several interpretations. Such interpretations are usually given, though without

authority, by the different vice-chancellors and pro-vice-chancellors at the time of subscription, and they are said to vary greatly. Sometimes the person matriculated is told that he 'thereby expresses his assent to the XXXIX. Articles, so far as he knows them ;' sometimes, that 'he probably has not read them, but that he has no objection to them ;' sometimes, that 'he thereby declares himself to be a member of the Church of England.' Sometimes, however, no observation is made.

"Thirdly, it may be observed, that the subscription is found practically neither to exclude all who are not members of the Church of England, nor to include all who are.

"On the one hand, it is no obstacle to the admission of some persons who are known to be the members of other communions, such as the Evangelical Church of Prussia, the Evangelical Society of Geneva, the Wesleyan body, and the Established Church of Scotland. On the other hand, there are many persons who are members of the Church of England, who cannot bring themselves to declare their full assent to every proposition contained in the Thirty-nine Articles. At Cambridge, as is well known, no test is imposed on a young man till he comes to take his degree, when he has to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. It is probably familiarity alone which reconciles us to a system which compels youths at their first entrance into the university to give a formal assent to a large number of theological propositions, which they cannot have studied, and which in many colleges they are not encouraged to study till a considerable period after they have subscribed them. This subscription is required by the statutes from children of the age of twelve ; a requirement now happily in abeyance, owing to the more advanced age at which students come to the university ; but it is one which was actually in force as late as the middle of the last century, and which must be put in force again if a boy of that age were to present himself for matriculation.

"We do not offer any suggestion as to the manner in which the evil should be remedied ; but we must express our conviction that the imposition of subscription, in the manner in which it is now imposed in the university of Oxford, habituates the mind to give a careless assent to truths which it has never considered, and naturally leads to sophistry in the interpretation of solemn obligations."

—pp. 55-56.

Such being the recorded opinion of Her Majesty's Commissioners, it cannot be long before a change is made in the terms of subscription ; and as in the present day it would be utterly impossible to put forward a test which could have a chance of acceptance by both of the religious parties into which the English Church is split up, we cannot but feel that any change must sooner or later result in the

abolition of all religious tests, and thus, by throwing open the university to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, make it once more, what it is in name only at present, a national institution.

And a national institution it is, just like that Church, of which it is the main stay and support. Its privileges since the Reformation have been granted or confirmed by royal charters from Elizabeth, James, and Charles. It possesses from the Crown the power of conferring degrees. It takes part in the legislation of the country through its representatives in parliament. Six of its professorships have been endowed by the Crown; it receives annual grants from parliaments, and its press has always had an interest in a valuable monopoly, the sale of the Protestant national Bible.

"Such an institution," observes Her Majesty's Commissioners, "cannot be regarded as a mere aggregation of private interests; it is eminently national. It would seem, therefore, to be a matter of public policy that inquiry should be made, from time to time, in order to ascertain whether the purposes of its existence are fulfilled; and that such measures should be taken as may serve to raise its efficiency to the highest point, and to diffuse its benefits most widely."

"Whether there be power in any hands ordinarily to superintend this great institution, and to reform it, when reform becomes necessary, and what is the extent of that power, if it exists, has often been a subject of dispute. Such a power has, however, been generally supposed to reside in the Sovereign, as visitor. It has often been exercised by the crown, and has often been recognised by the university. In 1647, the delegates of the university urged, as a reason for resisting the parliamentary visitors, that they 'humbly conceived that they could not acknowledge any visitor but the king, or such as are immediately sent by His Majesty, it being one of His Majesty's unbounded rights, and one of the chief privileges of the university, that His Majesty and without him none other is to visit the university.'\* Within our own memory the right of visitation was asserted to belong to the crown, in an opinion given by Sir John (now lord) Campbell and Dr. Lushington in 1836; and this right was admitted in express terms before the Privy Council by Sir Charles Wetherell, when acting as council for the university in 1834."†—Report, pp. 3-4.

\* Wood's Annals, anno 1647, vol. iii. p. 524.

† "Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell," 1834, p. 61.

But if there could be any doubt on this head, the matter is set at rest by a moment's glance at the Laudian Era.

"King Charles," says the Report, "required the university to confirm several important statutes which emanated from himself. In the chancellorship of Archbishop Laud the Statutes were at last digested into one uniform code, which still governs the university under the title of 'Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis.'\* This Code was in part compiled, in part composed by special delegates appointed for the purpose in 1629 by the Convocation of the university, at the command of the king. After having been tried for one year, it was sent down to Oxford under the seal of Laud, as metropolitan and chancellor of the university, together with letters-patent under the great seal of England, and was formally accepted by the university on the 21st of June, 1636.† It can hardly be doubted that these statutes were intended by all the parties to their enactment to be unalterable except with the concurrence of the royal authority."

Such being the case, we cannot but view with surprise the behaviour of the great majority of the heads of colleges, who originally met the enquiries of Her Majesty's Commissioners by disputing the legality of the commission itself, or of Mr. Keble, who, in his pamphlet already quoted, recommends his friends and followers to meet the measure with the old Anglican armour of 'passive resistance.' At the Reformation the Anglican Church and clergy submitted in *verbo sacerdotii*, to the authority of King Henry VIII., as "supreme head of the English Church;" and if the reigning sovereign thereby became supreme over the whole Church, every portion of it must be under the sovereign's control. The sovereign power is now shared by the imperial legislature, and the latter has not been slow to exercise that power over the university of Oxford, we venture to think upon the whole, in a very healthy and salutary way. Oxford has always been conservative and exclusive in the last degree; and the day of exclusive institutions is gone by: their sun is set for ever; society is advancing with rapid and gigantic strides, and demands that all restrictions upon its progress shall be removed; and Oxford now has to pay the penalty of her backwardness in leading, or following, the march of progress, in the shape

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\* Preface to the Statutes of the University.

† Wood's Annals, anno 1633, 1636, vol. ii. p. 385-403.

of a bill which will sweep away a host of antiquated corruptions and prescriptive rights, which are meaningless and ill suited to the present age. The House of Commons feels that an "enabling bill," (as the phrase goes,) would be of little or no use; it has therefore acted most wisely in our opinion, in making it compulsory on Oxford\* to reform its constitution. To what this reform will lead, the future only can show.

\* The reform of the sister university of Cambridge will follow as a matter of course, though owing to the more liberal character of its institutions, and the larger amount of prizes which it has to offer to intellectual ability and merit, it stands in less need of alteration in order to adapt it to the wants of the nineteenth century. A further step, in due course of time, we feel sure must be a royal commission to enquire into the existing condition of the grammar schools and other educational establishments, a large majority of which were founded in the reigns of the Tudor Kings, and are post-Reformation Establishments. The exposure of inveterate abuses in the cathedral school at Rochester, and in the magnificent foundation of Dulwich college, which has been made through the pages of the *Times*, will not and cannot be lost upon Her Majesty's government. Whittaker's *Educational Register* now before us shows that among the Grammar schools of England, Blackburn, with an endowment of £120 a year has not a single scholar, though the inhabitants of the town are anxious to see it placed on a proper footing; while the school at Boston with an income of several hundreds, was closed until the last four years. The grammar school at Bristol within our own memory was in the same condition, the late head master, Dr. Goodenough, drawing all the time an ample revenue from it. At Camberwell we find that the grammar-school founded in the reign of James I., is in abeyance, the house pulled down, the land let for building purposes, and the late master pensioned off with an annuity of forty pounds. The same is the case with a school in Carnarvonshire, whose patron is Lord Mostyn, but where no master has been appointed since 1842, and the school buildings are in ruins. But perhaps the most flagrant case of all is that of Goudhurst, in Kent, where in 1839 the trustees of the school laid out a large sum in repairing the school house, under the impression that it was their own property. It proved, however, to be leasehold from the dean and chapter of Rochester, who now require a fine of £200. The trustees had no funds in hand to pay the debt incurred by these repairs, and therefore have suspended the appointment of a new master. In the mean time the school is in abeyance, owing to the grasping demand of the cathedral dignitaries of Rochester, already well known as the persecutors of poor Mr. Whiston. Surely all this calls for parliamentary interference.

It is only since the above was written that we have seen the Oxford University Bill in the form under which it received the royal assent on the 7th of August last; and our readers will, doubtless, have already anticipated the opinion which we have formed concerning its contents. Its preamble declares that it is expedient for the advancement of religion and learning, to enlarge the powers of making and altering the statutes and regulations of the university and its colleges, to provide for its government and extension, and for the abrogation of oaths now taken therein, and otherwise for maintaining and improving its discipline, studies, and good government. It will be enough here to describe its details in general terms. The commissioners appointed to carry out the act, are the Earls of Harrowby and Ellesmere, the Bishop of Ripon, Mr. Justice Coleridge, the Dean of Wells, Sir John W. Audry, and Mr. G. Cornwall Lewis, and their powers will remain in force until the end of the year 1856; they are empowered to call for the production of all papers, documents, and accounts, and other information from all the authorities of the university, notwithstanding any oaths which they may have taken to the contrary. The old Hebdomadal Board, composed of the heads of colleges alone, which we mentioned in a former article, is to be abolished at the commencement of this October term; and in its stead a new council is appointed, consisting of the Vice Chancellor and proctors, six heads of colleges, six of the public professors, and six members of convocation of five years standing, to be elected by the general congregation of the university, a newly-erected body which is to be composed of the chancellor and high steward, the heads of colleges and halls, the canons of Christ Church, the two proctors, the public professors with their assistants or deputies, the public examiners, and all *resident masters of arts*, together with sundry official members, &c. This body is to have entrusted to it the supreme legislative power; it is to conduct its proceedings in the Queen's English, instead of mediæval Latin. The Vice Chancellor is also empowered to grant his licence to any resident master of arts, to open his house as a private hall for the reception of students, who are to be admitted and matriculated to all the privileges of the university, without being entered on the books of any college or hall; and the arrangement of the terms and conditions on which any such master of arts

may open a private hall, are to be fixed by congregation. Another important feature of the bill as it stands, is the power which it confers on all colleges to alter and amend their own statutes as to the eligibility of individuals to their headships, fellowships, and scholarships, &c., and to modify the application of their pecuniary resources in such a way as may best contribute to the public good, under the altered circumstances of the days in which we live ; and further, where colleges will not reform their statutes for themselves, it empowers Her Majesty's Commissioners to step in and do the work for them. The only other point to be mentioned is the abolition of all oaths, religious or civil, at matriculation, and at the taking of the degree of B.A.; though at the same time they are still to be enforced for the final degree of M.A. The result of this will be, that while Dissenters may receive all the advantages of a university education, the congregation , or ruling body, will still remain as heretofore, exclusively in the hands of members of the Established Church ; and we can only hope that the final step will be taken before long, of repealing all religious oaths even in this ultimate stage, and so giving every class of Her Majesty's subjects in an unmutilated form, the whole advantage of what, with all its faults, must for ever rank among the first of our national institutions.

ART. IV.—1. *The Devotion to the Heart of Jesus.* With an Introduction on the History of Jansenism. By the Rev. J. B. DALGAIRNS, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Richardson and Son : London, Dublin, and Derby. 1853.

2. *History of Europe from the French Revolution to the Peace.* By ARCHIBALD ALISON. London : Blackwood and Sons. 1853—4.

**T**IT might not be apparent at first sight what connection there could be between two such subjects as the devotion to the Sacred Heart and the French Revolution, or even between the two systems apparently so dissimilar as

**Jansenism and Jacobinism.** The objection, or the question might equally arise to a book like that of Father Dalgairns, which not only is historical as well as devotional, but touches not a little, though in a terse and indirect way, on the secular history of the times to which it refers, and of which the introduction is an "Essay on the History of Jansenism," and of which the first chapter is a "History of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart." Father Dalgairns anticipates and answers the objection. "You may consider," he says, "why at the outset of a dissertation on the Sacred Heart, I should come before you with an historical disquisition, and you will consider more when, as we advance, you find your thoughts broken in upon by the detail of events profane as well as sacred. Our story will lead us from earth to heaven, and from heaven back again to earth; visions of saints will mingle strangely with worldly scenes—the cabals of parliaments and the overthrow of dynasties." But the idea out of which the objection would arise is the very idea which it is the object of his work, (and, we may add, that it is also our own,) to combat, that is to say, the idea that the temporal can be severed from the spiritual, and conducted on opposite principles, that the *devotions* of a people need have no necessary connection with their *actions*—individual or national—in secular affairs. This idea is the root of all systems of compromise or expediency—unfilial like Gallicanism, or, absolutely heretical, like Jansenism, bearing on the spirit which leads men to seek to serve God and Mammon, and to "halt between two opinions," hesitating whether to serve the Lord or Baal. Father Dalgairns shows how this is most eloquently and forcibly, basing his argument on the profound remark of St. Ignatius, that the Catholicity of a man's mind may be tested by his feeling with regard to matters *not of obligation*, as special devotions, &c., pointing out how this is particularly exemplified either in the reception of a devotion like that of the Sacred Heart, or in obedience to the Holy See, which equally call for a childlike docility and charity; he quotes the revelation of our Lord to St. Gertrude, that the devotion to the Sacred Heart was reserved for these last times in the decrepitude of the world, to rekindle the flame of its charity, which would have grown cold; he reminds us of St. Catherine of Sienna, so characterised by her devotion to the Sacred Heart, and most lively zeal to the Holy

See ; when he has shown the extent to which the devotion to the Sacred Heart has found antagonists in the world, and thus led his readers to the conclusion that it must be a great instrument for the glory of God, from the fact that heresy has waged such a deadly war against it, he proceeds to show how it is that it meets with such opposition among Catholics ; points out how the Jansenists, the enemies to the Holy See, were bitterly opposed to it ; and how, on the other hand, there has been an occult connection between devotion to the Sacred Heart and a hatred of Jansenism and Erastianism ; how the Jesuits, those intrepid defenders of the Holy See, were always the sworn advocates of the devotion ; how it has always been associated with faith, fervour, and fidelity ; and how, on the contrary, the antagonistic system, Jansenism, is "the rationalistic development of the faith and practice of a tepid Catholic."

Father Dalgairns in his preface refers to an article in the *British Critic*, which appeared some fifteen years ago, on the *Revival of Jansenism*, in which the writer alludes to the rapid propagation of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, asks how it is to be accounted for ; connects it (truly enough) with the Society of Jesus and devotion to the Holy See, and comes to the sapient conclusion, "the plain truth may be read in letters of blood in more than one country in Europe ;" supporting it by reference to the revolutions which have occurred in Europe during the last sixty years, and labouring to convince his readers that the Society of Jesus is the agent of all rebellious and political convulsions, and that confraternities of the Sacred Heart are their instruments and agents. Now the writer was quite correct in associating the spread of the Society of Jesus with the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and zeal for the Holy See, for the history of the Church shows that the three have a natural connection and kindred spirit ; but he is fearfully wrong in associating that spirit with the spirit of revolution or rebellion, in any other way than as antagonistic elements ; for the history of the world shows that the suppression of the Jesuits, the ascendancy of Jansenism, the decline of devotion to the Sacred Heart, and zeal towards the Holy See, have been always followed by revolution and rebellion. In the words of the writer of the article alluded to, (which we refer to, as representing the tone and temper of almost all Protestant writers on the subject,) " the plain truth can be read in letters of blood in

more than one country in Europe," and we propose on this occasion specially to show it to be so in the case of France—that country in which the devotion to the Sacred Heart arose;—the dark era in which Gallicanism was rampant;—in which it found in Jansenism bitter opponents, and in the Jesuits ardent defenders, and in which the victory of Jansenism, by the expulsion of the Jesuits, was followed by the slow yet sure step of a fearful national retribution, in the horrors of Revolution, and the dark night of Rationalism, consummated by the actual enthronement of the Goddess of Reason amidst an ocean of innocent blood, and all the awful atrocities of the Reign of Terror.

Long ago it had occurred to us that it would be an interesting object of historical investigation to trace to its remote origin that tremendous tragedy, the French Revolution, to show how the Church of France was first subjugated and corrupted before she could be subverted, and that the state found its ruin in her fall; to exhibit the terrible development of Protestantism into Rationalism, and thence to Revolution,—to show the hidden connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism—to point out how Richlieu paved the way for Robespierre—to show how, when the principles of reverence and regard for the supernatural had been sapped by the state, civil society could not survive.

The perusal of the beautiful and powerful book of Father Dalgairns, or rather of the Introduction, served to revive and confirm the impressions we had entertained as to the *religious* origin of the most terrific catastrophe of modern history. In a most nervous and masterly manner the gifted writer points out the relations of Jansenism and Jacobinism; and although the nature of his subject does not lead him to go further back, and trace the connection between Gallicanism and Jansenism, that is only a further development of the same argument. There can be little question to a Catholic student of French history that the corruption which resulted from the subjugation of the Gallican church to the state, had a morbid reaction on the heretical austerity of Jansenism, as the rationalism which resulted from Jansenism was the great cause of Jacobinism.

Nor is it only Catholics who have taken the religious view of the origin of the French Revolution. The greatest, perhaps, one might say, the only great modern historian

which England has produced, has looked at the subject with the same view, although we need hardly say he has viewed it in a very opposite light, and has seen it in a very opposite aspect. In his "History of Europe," Alison traces the Revolution to religious causes, that is, to causes the very reverse to those which we should ascribe it. He traces it to the oppression of Protestantism, we to its influence and diffusion. It sufficiently supports our view, that he confesses the chief causes were *religious*. And it is not difficult, out of his own statements, to elicit conclusions exactly the opposite of those which he comes to as to the nature of these causes. Before considering his conclusions, and his account of the more proximate causes of the Revolution, it is necessary for the due understanding of our argument to take a review of the previous events of French history in connection with the Church. And it is necessary to go a long way back. We must remember that the life of a nation is one measured not by years but by generations, and that a century is but a short space of time in its history. Moral causes work but slowly though surely in its character and career, and, on the other hand, the consequences are as certain as they are slow, and are awfully inevitable and irrevocable. And in the history of nations, as of persons, there is a terrible system of retribution, which reads its own dread lesson. In proportion to the magnitude of the event is the length of historical review necessary for its illustration; and in elucidating a national retribution so terrific as the revolution, it is requisite to let the mind take a wide scope of investigation and comparison.

The Revolution was the reaction from absolutism, and the retribution of irreligion. And both arose out of defection from Catholicism. With Philip Augustus commenced the struggle on behalf of the Crown of France for supremacy, which was consummated in the reign of Louis XIV. Before, the Crown had been content to reign *with* the Church, now it was desirous of reigning *over* the Church. That we may not be imagined to misrepresent or exaggerate the character of this era, we purposely cite an historian—French and Protestant. Guizot, in his "Essays on Civilization in France," thus writes of the era we refer to:

"Although we cannot distinguish in Philip any regular moral intention, any strong purpose of justice, or of the social welfare of

men, he had a straightforward entire mind, ever full of advice for order and progress ; and he supported many things in promotion of what we should call the general civilization of the kingdom. He had the streets of Paris paved, he extended the walls, he constructed aqueducts, hospitals, churches, market-places ; he occupied himself with improving the *material* condition of his subjects. Nor did he neglect their moral development. The university of Paris owed to him its chief privileges, and received even excessive protection. Of the Capetian kings Philip Augustus was the first who communicated to French royalty that character of intelligent and active good will towards the ameliorization of the social state and the progress of national civilization, which for so long a period constituted its strength and popularity. All our history evidences this fact, which received its final and most glorious development in the reign of Louis XIV. It is traceable back to Philip Augustus."

This extract will amply justify our opinion of the character of the era and of its importance. The testimony of M. Guizot is conclusive upon both points. This eulogy is sufficient evidence as to the tendency of the policy which founds its most glorious development in the reign of Louis XIV. And his authority is enough to prove that it is traceable back to Philip Augustus. Although we go far back, therefore, in our review of French history, we do not go *too* far. If the great Protestant historian deemed that the policy which was consummated by Louis XIV. was commenced by Philip, no one will question that it was a policy the tendency of which was inimical to the Church, and that it really did originate in the era to which he refers its origin. It was the policy which may be described in a word :—the *aggrandizement of royalty*. Its aggrandizement, at the expense alike of Church and liberty ; its aggrandizement into an absolute irresponsible tyranny, of which the result and the retribution was the terrible national tragedy, the remote and immediate causes of which we have undertaken to trace.

M. Guizot grows warm upon his theme. "Open the literary monuments of the period," he exclaims in triumph, "and you will at once see royalty becoming *national*, occupying the thoughts of the people; you will meet with enthusiasm." Exactly so. Royalty was becoming *idolized*. Nationality was being enthroned and worshipped. And all this at a sad loss to Catholicism. The seeds of Gallicanism were being sown. M. Guizot sees it clearly, and hence he exults. But we shall see the issue of all this in

due time. M. Guizot's subject did not take him quite far enough for that. But ours will. His theme, so called, was civilization ; that is to say, civilization apart from the Church, or assuming to be independent of it. Of such civilization as he says himself, the reign of Philip Augustus was the common consent, and that of Louis XIV. the consummation. He did not go further ; we shall. We shall see how it fared with the *descendants* of Louis XIV. It may seem a long time ; but in the life of a nation it is not so.

In the hands of the immediate successor of Philip Augustus, the policy of royalty received some check. Louis, as M. Guizot tells us, was a conscientious man, which Philip was *not*. And hence, we are told, Louis began by doubting as to the legitimacy of what his predecessors had done, and especially Philip Augustus. We do not mean that Philip had done anything very bad towards the Church. His more immediate object was the supremacy of the crown over the nobles : and he probably did not contemplate the ultimate effect of the policy he originated as to the Church. But the spirit in which he acted was one which led the Crown of France, after subduing the nobles, to seek to subjugate the Church. St. Louis pursued the policy of Philip as to the nobles, but from very different motives ; and hence, although M. Guizot seeks to represent him as having pursued a similar policy towards the Church, the error is obvious from the very instance he advances. The French Church required of St. Louis, he says, to enforce the censures and excommunications of the Church ; and we are told that the king answered that he would readily do so if first satisfied as to the justice of the sentences. To this it is said they objected that it would give him repugnance in matters of religion. Therefore the king replied that he could not compel the excommunicated, right or wrong, to submit themselves to the Church ; for if I were to do so, I should act against God and against justice, and I will give you an example of this. The bishop of Britanny held the count of Britanny under excommunication ; yet after all he was absolved by the court of Rome ; so that had I constrained him to submit himself to the bishop at the first, I should have been wrong. This is quoted from Joinville, not exactly the best authority on such subjects ; and the account upon the face of it is marked by inconsistency and obscurity. But this, at

all events, is clear, that the objection of St. Louis was to the enforcement of ecclesiastical censures by the temporal power *before they were confirmed by the Holy See*. So that this evinces the very reverse of an anti-papal policy.

M. Guizot thus describes royalty in France during the three hundred years which terminated at the death of St. Louis. "It was not in right absolute. It was neither imperial royalty, founded on the personifications of the state, nor Christian royalty, founded on the representation of the Divinity. Still if it was not absolute in right, it was not limited. In the social order there was no institution which balanced it; no regular counterpoise either by any great aristocratical body or any popular assembly. In fact, royalty was limited by independent, and, to a certain point, rival powers, by the power of the clergy, and by that of the great vassals of the Crown. Still it possessed a force which, at the end of the thirteenth century, placed the king at the head of the great lords of France." Thus the plain truth was that the Crown had, beyond the power of the nobles which it had now subdued, no check or control except the influence of the Church, which, in the language of a Protestant historian, is always "the power of the *clergy*," and yet the same great writer says that though there was in the French royalty the "germ of despotism," hitherto it had not developed itself. He says, "It would be unjust to state that from the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century (St. Louis died after), royalty laboured to render itself absolute; it laboured to re-establish order, peace, and justice."

Now this is a most remarkable testimony. What does it amount to but this: that for three centuries preceding the era at which we have arrived in our review of French history—the crown, influenced by the Church, had laboured only to establish order, peace, and justice? Is not this eloquent to show that the Church is the best—the only safe guide and protector for princes and for people, and that under her guidance and protection both would have been ever safe? We shall find that neither the Crown nor the nation fell into peril until the Church had been subjugated under the supremacy of the Crown. The same princes who were tyrannical to the Church were so to the people, and sought to enslave both.

"The metamorphosis of royalty into despotism," says Guizot, "is the characteristic of the reign of Philip le

Bel." "Just as great as was the place which the personal virtue of St. Louis held in his government, so great was the influence exercised by that personal wickedness of Philip le Bel over his, and as powerfully did it contribute to the *moral and despotic turn which royalty took under his reign.*" Let it be remarked what is the important testimony of this able Protestant writer as to the character of the monarch whose atrocious conduct to the Pope we need not recall to the recollection of our readers. As little need we remind them of the horrible cruelties which his rapacities led him to perpetrate upon the Knights Templars. There is one feature of his policy, however, to which we must call the particular attention of our readers, for it is pregnant with interest and instruction. In his contest with Pope Boniface VIII., his unscrupulous minister, Marigni, suggested his summoning assemblies of the States, in which the nobility, clergy, and deputies of the cities sat separately, and sent their respective letters to the Court of Rome, asserting the independence of the Crown, and appealed from the Holy See. Protestant historians are perfectly aware of the policy of this step. It was designed to let the Court of Rome see that he had the support of the nation in his contest—the first overt and distinct aggression of that spirit of nationalism (in opposition to Catholicism) which afterwards obtained the name of Gallicanism. It is most important to mark this, for the convoking of the States General under Louis XIV. was the proximate cause or rather means of the Revolution which exacted such a signal retribution from France for centuries of unfaithfulness to Catholicism. That there may be no mistake about the matter, we will quote the passage from M. Guizot, in which he describes the nature and the motives of the measure to which we refer on the part of Philip le Bel.

"In 1302, engaged in his great quarrel with Boniface VIII., and wishing to present himself at the contest with the support of all his subjects, Philip convoked the States-General, and their assembly was held at Paris, in the church of Notre Dame. The three orders, the nobility, the clergy, and a certain number of deputies from the large houses had seats there. Their deliberations were brief—*each order merely acceded to the desires of the king by sending a letter to the Pope.*"

Letters, we need not question, breathing a spirit of inso-

lent disaffection towards the Holy See. Thus early in the history of France do we see the accursed seeds of nationalism already producing their fatal fruits, and a process of estrangement from the Chair of St. Peter going on slowly but surely. At the same period a similar process was going on in England, where our Edwards and Henries pursued an anti-papal policy precisely the same in spirit and object as that which was followed by the Philips and Louises of France. The statutes of *provisors* and *premunire* in England were analogous to similar measures passed in France under the general name of the Pragmatic Sanction, the common purpose being to deprive the Holy See of all control over the patronage of the national Church, in order to vest it ultimately in the Crown. The immediate result of this in both countries was the same—the subjugation of the national Church; the ultimate result was in this respect the same, that it led practically to the substitution of the royal for the papal supremacy. And if the result differed in this respect, that it led in England only to heresy, and in France to infidelity, perhaps the difference is more apparent than real; the distinction being that in England the change was conducted earlier, with more hypocrisy, and a greater regard for propriety; whereas in France it was put off longer, took place by means of a popular reaction, and was marked by a greater paroxysm of fury; but, on the other hand, the reaction in favour of Catholicism was quicker, and we doubt if, in the long run, the result did not turn out more favourably for religion in France than in England. Of that, however, we say no more. We have not come yet to the age of reason. We have only come to an age in which royalty was practically to be deemed a substitute for piety—and nationalism was being set up as a rival to Catholicism. The *issue* we shall see.

We are in the reign of Philip le Bel; and we have only to notice before leaving it one pregnant fact, which even M. Guizot notices without discussing its connection with the other fact he had already mentioned, viz., that in this reign the Crown first came openly into antagonism with the Holy See. The fact to which we refer is stated by M. Guizot in one of his pithy sentences thus:—“Such, under this reign, was the development of royalty: there is *here a remarkable progress towards absolute power.*” To be sure there was. The king was an enemy to the papacy. Why? Because it interfered with his tyranny. The same

disposition which led him to oppose the Pope would lead him to oppress the people. The love of arbitrary power would impel him to the same line of policy as to the spiritual and as to the temporal. The great truth which the history alike of France and England illustrates is, that there is no power which can control royalty, and prevent its rising into tyranny, nor control liberty, so as to prevent its lapsing into rebellion, but the power of the Church; that the Holy See was the divinely appointed arbiter among nations, or between nations and their sovereigns; and that when its authority was thrown off, royalty became tyranny—the reaction from which became rebellion. This is the origin of all Revolution. No political Revolution ever took place in any country until there had been a religious Revolution. No reaction ever subverted the Crown which had not subjugated the Church. Monarchs and subjects alike enthrone self-will, and then are enslaved. This is the lesson which we are especially seeking to illustrate in the history of the remote and direct causes of the French Revolution, and it finds a confirmation and an illustration thus early in the history, in the pregnant fact, related by the illustrious Protestant statesman, that the reign of the first monarch who rebelled against the Holy See was equally marked by the spirit of nationalism and despotism; and by an opposition dictated by both the one and the other to the spirit of Catholicism.

The connection of the spirit of nationalism (which the Crown thus had evoked for the purpose of aiding it in opposition to Catholicism, and with the ultimate aim of establishing despotism) and the French Revolution is distinctly drawn out by M. Guizot. And it is so important for our argument, and we are so anxious that it should not be imagined a mere idea of our own, that we will quote a sentence in which he tersely states it. He agrees that the “third estate” of France, which Philip le Bel had summoned to his anti-papal councils—to assist him in evading or defying the authority of the Holy See—*was essentially national*. And then he goes on to say, “*That third estate in 1789 brought on the French Revolution.*” This will suffice to show that we are not travelling too far back in our examination of the causes of the Revolution. The spirit of *nationalism* originally invoked against the Church proved in the end the destruction of the Crown. It is a significant circumstance that the same king who convoked the

States General to support him in conciliating the authority of the Holy See, excluded the prelates from sitting in Parliament with hypocritical anxiety about its interfering with the discharge of their pastoral duties. It was he who fixed the Parliament at Paris, and infused into it a greater proportion of *lawyers*—always and everywhere the ready instruments of the Crown in maintaining an uncatholic nationality against the authority of the Holy See. Here again we shall have to notice one of the remarkable retractions of Providence. It was to this parliament, thus filled with lawyers, and fixed at Paris, that France four centuries afterwards owed the initiative step of her terrific Revolution, the convoking of the States General. And no class were more active or energetic in the rise and progress of that awful visitation than the lawyers, who had for ages laboured to subvert the supremacy of the Holy See, and substitute for it the supremacy of the Crown. They began by thus corrupting royalty into tyranny, and they ended by provoking and precipitating the inevitable reaction of a terrible Revolution.

The Kings of France, we have seen, had first evoked the new power of the States General to co-operate with them against the Holy See. But they availed themselves of the power thus conferred upon them for purposes of their own, and began at even this early period of France's history to pursue the very course which so long afterwards resulted in the Revolution. The next time we read of their being convoked was some quarter of a century afterwards, just at the middle of the fourteenth century; and what we then find is really most remarkable, whether we regard the rapidity with which it carried retribution home to the Crown, or the fidelity with which it represented what afterwards occurred at the Revolution. The whole policy, so to speak, of the Revolution was then sketched out, and, to a great degree, *acted* out. The King convoked the States because of the distressed condition of public affairs, and in order to obtain supplies. They, however, though they *promised* supplies, at once applied themselves rather to *grievances*; and clearly were disposed to avail themselves of the *necessities*, in order to crush the authority of royalty. Here is retribution. The Crown had pandered to their turbulent spirit of rebellion, in order to gain their aid against the Holy See, and now had to enter into contest with that foul spirit of rebellion itself; a spirit which, at

this time, had the first taste of blood ; and from that moment, tiger-like, thirsted for blood, and never rested until it had satiated itself with slaughter, and glutted itself with gore, during the horrible excesses of the Reign of Terror. The provost of the third estate, on this occasion—that terrible *tiers class*, which was destined to destroy the throne of France, after assisting royalty to enslave the Church—was a murderer. He raised a rebellion in which savage slaughters were perpetrated in Paris; and the scheme was to change the form of government, and vest the supreme power in the third estate. The very same scheme, four hundred years afterwards, was pursued with such fell fanaticism at the time of the Revolution. How suddenly the new power which the Crown had evoked to defy the Holy See seemed to turn round upon its creator with ferocious instincts of destruction. It reminds one of the Miltonic picture of death and sin. The popular power embodied in the *tiers état* was the Frankenstein of the French monarchy.

However, the monarchy weathered the storm which the *tiers état* had raised thus early in their history, and which rendered it more cautious in appealing to their aid. Free from this peril, royalty pursued with energy that suicidal policy of subjugating the Church, which, in the end, was the destruction of the Crown. The fifteenth century opened favourably for this policy, owing to the unhappy schism in the Papacy. This was taken advantage of both in England and in France. Under Edward III. our own anti-papal policy had been already riveted by the statutes of *præmuniare* and *provisors*, and now under Charles VII. it was settled in France by the Pragmatic Sanction, embodying the spirit of the schismatic council of Basle, which was agreeable to royalty because inimical to the papacy. By this invasion the See of Rome was deprived completely of all control over the patronage of the French Church, which was afterwards secured to the Crown. This was the basis of what is called Gallicanism. We are careful to call attention to this, that from that moment the *Holy See ceased to be primarily responsible for the way in which the patronage of the Gallican Church was dispensed*. Let that be clearly comprehended. That inference at least follows from the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Holy See is fairly entitled to the advantage of it. It is an important consideration with reference to what follows in France's history.

By common consent, the Revolution was in a great degree caused by the irreligion which had become prevalent in France, and which no doubt partly arose from the condition of the Gallican Church. It is important, then, to bear in mind that for that condition *royalty had been for three centuries and a half primarily responsible*. Or rather we should say *nationality*. For the Pragmatic Sanction was the policy not merely of the Crown, but of the nation. It was agreed to by the three estates of the realm, and considered a bulwark for Gallican liberty against the See of Rome. Indeed, it was not all at once that the Crown assumed the position from which the Holy See had been thus displaced. At first the patronage was reserved to the Capitular elections or the Lay patronage. It was afterwards that the Crown engrossed all.

We need scarcely stop to say that Louis XI., though he pretended to cancel the Pragmatic Sanction at the commencement of his reign, in order to secure the favour of the Pope, Pius II., secretly adhered to it, and that his whole reign was characteristic of a mind in which superstition was substituted for devotion, and crafty policy for sincere piety. Under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. the Pragmatic Sanction continued to be upheld, although succeeding Popes protested against it, and Julius II., in the council of Lateran, condemned it. Leo X. in the reign of Francis I., continued the resistance of the Holy See to this anti-Catholic measure, which all along was rigorously maintained by the parliaments. Francis agreed to a *concordat* in which the more obnoxious stipulations were relinquished, but with regard to *patronage* the only difference was that the *king* secured the nomination of benefices, which before had been held by the Pope, but were now given by the chapters. The parliament of Paris, however, refused to register the *concordat*, and pertinaciously adhered to the Pragmatic Sanction. The subject of contention was immaterial to our argument, for it was merely whether the Gallican Church or the Crown should have the patronage, of which the Pope had been deprived. It was thus upon matters relating to the Church that the parliament of Paris was first brought into open opposition to the Crown; and the contest was kept up with obstinacy until other questions arose more fatal still, both to the Church and to the Crown.

The reign of Francis brings us to the era of the Refor-

mation ; and we need hardly say that both by the Crown and the nobility this great event and its results were made mere matters of policy and expediency ; hence the evil spirit of heresy was never combatted with zeal and with sincerity, but played with or made use of to suit the political exigencies of the day. Thus the Crown of France dealt with a terrific power, destined to destroy it. The Reformation in France and in England was but the development and embodiment of the spirit of rebellion against the See of Rome, which had been rising in both countries for two or three centuries. And it was a spirit as hostile to the Crown as to the Church, as was shown in England by the Rebellion, and in France by the Revolution. The first fruits of the Reformation in France were civil wars, which lasted with more or less of intermission until the era of the edict of Nantes, the revocation of which Alison considers the great cause of the French Revolution. In our opinion it was rather the course of policy which led to that edict of toleration, than either to the edict itself or the revocation of it, to which that disastrous conclusion is to be ascribed. The policy of the court with respect to religion was for a century one of mere expediency. Of course this, while it encouraged the Huguenots, disgusted those who were zealous on the Catholic side. Indeed, it is difficult to decide who, if any, of the *leaders* on either side were sincere. It is perfectly plain that religious differences were made the pretences for political intrigues. Even the Cardinal de Lorraine, it is suspected, would have been disposed to agree to a French Reformation on the basis of the Confession of Augsburg, if he could have secured himself the Primacy of the French Church, Catherine de Medicis showed herself to have a strong bearing to Protestantism ; in fact, her letter to Pope Pius IV. conveys a distinct approbation of some of its heretical tenets. On the other hand, Condé and Henry of Navarre were utterly insincere, and made Protestantism a mere pretext for their own purposes. The result of all their insincerity and the intrigues they led to, was that repeated edicts of pacification were agreed to, under which Protestantism gained ground in France, and received a species of recognition from the State. This was made one of the reasons by the parliament of Paris for rejecting the decrees of the Council of Trent as to discipline. And then, when political exigencies rendered it requisite, these edicts were revoked, and Pro-

testants put upon their defence. This was, of course, a system equally fatal to the royal authority and to religious sincerity ; and it tended to beget a spirit of rebellion on one side, and irreligion on the other, from which the worst of consequences could not fail to follow. Catherine de Medicis, who, during three reigns, wielded so much of sovereign power in France, and sought to preserve it by exciting divisions, alternately pandered to or persecuted the Protestants, as it suited her selfish purposes ; and it was in pursuance of this wicked and wretched policy that the "massacre" of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated upon men, many of whom were unquestionably in rebellion, and who might justly have been deemed to have forfeited their lives, had it not been that their rebellion had all the palliation of provocation, and their punishment all the odium of treachery, cruelty, and policy. That it was a mere matter of worldly craft is clear from the fact that the same woman who projected the massacre of Coligné and his party, approved of the murder of the Duke of Guise, who, when he entered Paris in armed opposition to the king, in order to compel the revocation of politic edicts, in favour of Protestantism, was hailed by all classes, as the champion of the Church, and the protector of Catholicism. If any of the leaders of parties in those days were sincere, it was De Guise. Certainly the people believed him to be so. It is beyond a doubt that the court tolerated Protestantism when it was expedient so to do, for the sake of its own intrigues, *in opposition to the wishes of the nation*, who saw that it was done from mere state craft, and who revolted at the idea of heresy being made a matter of mere policy. The body of the nation was not yet so corrupted as to have lost its zeal for orthodoxy or its hatred for heresy. But the Crown of France *was not in earnest* against heresy, and made it matter of policy. The result of this was of course counter-leagues of Catholics, to compel the revocation of pacifications which policy had conceded to heresy. Thus the country became as much inflamed by contests as it was debased by compromise ; until, at last, toleration became a necessity.

In 1558 Catherine of Medici closed, and Elizabeth of England commenced their long reigns, in which religion was made subservient to the purposes of selfish state policy. The effect they produced upon their respective countries endured for generations after their death, and we are

anxious to bring vividly before our readers the results of the reign of Catherine de Medici, (for it was virtually her reign for a large portion of the sixteenth century,) which laid the basis for a corruption of the nation, carried to its lowest depths of degradation in the reign of Louis XIV., and consummated in the horrible excesses of the Revolution.

"The age of Catherine de Medici, for so we may style the space of thirty years, in which her genius and example gave the law in France, was a mixture of impurities of every kind. Much of superstition, and more of atheism, and what is its constant companion, an extravagant propensity to magic, splendour without dignity, a policy so refined as to sap the foundations of government, an affection of absolute power, that ended in total anarchy, and such a spirit of dissipation as left industry without hope, and almost effaced all sentiments of probity."\*

It speaks volumes as to the execration in which her character was held, and the affection for Catholicity which inspired that feeling, and therefore indirectly is eloquent as to her insincerity as respects the Catholic religion, that the people of Paris declared, that if her remains were interred in the church of St. Denis, *they would cast them into the common sewer*; the reason of which was, *the persuasion they had that she was concerned in the murders of the Duke and Cardinal de Guise, the great champions of Catholicity.*

Now let the reader, before going further, and he is now brought to the eve of the seventeenth century, recur to the picture which the Protestant historian of France draws of the condition of the country under sovereigns *true* to the Catholic faith, and loyal to the Holy See, and we appeal to his candour, (*whatever* his creed, if he have one, or whether he have one or not,) upon two points; whether the country was not happier in ages, which were called, by way of distinction from those we have now come to, ages of *faith*, and whether the impurities and impieties of the age of Catherine de Medici or Louis XIV. were consequent upon, not the *development*, but the enslavement of the Church,—not its exaltation but its depression, and a depression arising from a subjugation to the State.

Should any one for a single moment doubt as to these

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\* Universal History, vol. ii. 4—vi. 19.

points, let him only reflect on what had been the state of Church patronage since the Pragmatic Sanction, and surely all lingering doubt will be removed. Since that measure the Holy See had been virtually deprived of its control over the patronage of the French Church, the administration of which, while it has no *direct* connection with its doctrine, or even discipline, must necessarily, in the long run, be all important with reference to the carrying out of discipline and due teaching of doctrine. If the benefices and bishoprics of a Church are given as rewards to the dependants of royalty, as appanages to the scions of nobility—if Church patronage, in short, is dispensed to courtiers, purity of doctrine cannot long preserve the Church from relaxation of discipline, and that must, in the long run, end in that perversion of doctrine which is sure to be the ultimate result of general demoralization.

There is, it should seem, some inexorable law of our moral nature which associates impurity and pride. Whether in the individual or national mind, pride will probably result in impurity, and impurity will be accompanied by pride. Hence it is that in all countries the rise of heresy has been at once the cause and the result of a wide-spreading impurity; so it was in England, and so it was in France, and so it was in Germany. In England and Germany, indeed, the rise and progress of Protestantism had a direct connection with a dissolution of the sanctity of marriage, and in France, if the impurity which pervaded public life did not lead to an open adoption of heresy by the state, it led to an indifference to it, and a succession of compromises with it, which at first scandalized, and at last corrupted the national mind, and gave rise to scepticism. It is impossible but that the administration of Church patronage must have had a vast deal to do with all this. All the monarchs of France, from the age of Philip le Bel to that of Louis XVI. had their mistresses, and we need not say that the example of the sovereign was followed by his nobles. What kind of dispensers of Church patronage would these impure persons be? Yet to their hands the Pragmatic Sanction virtually secured it. And here is the main cause of that national corruption which led to the dread catastrophe of the Revolution.

The close of the sixteenth century was signalized by an event which must have had a great tendency to diffuse the fatal infection of insincerity in religion which was the great

vice of the age : we refer to the *conversion* of Henry IV. No one could or did, for an instant, suppose that if the king had ever been sincerely a Protestant he then became sincerely a Catholic ; and though it is very likely that the act was not at variance with his convictions, but that his former professions had been pretences, it is palpable that the *declaration* of his conversion was a matter of policy ; yet it was an act which many Catholics and Protestants of eminence cordially approved of and advised, both being perfectly sure that it was for a state purpose, and the latter having this conviction, that either the king was insincere now, or had been before ; so that in any view it was an act of hypocrisy ; but an act in such a man, advised and approved of by so many, of one religion or the other, could not but have a fatal influence on the national mind.

A curse has seemed to rest upon the race of Bourbon, and if ever the sins of the fathers are visited on the children, justly so. Descended as the dynasty were from that ruffianly prince who sacked Rome, and whose troops there perpetrated atrocities exceeding those of Mahomedanism or Paganism in its worst times, and in comparison with which the horrors of the Reign of Terror in Paris were but faint, they seem to have inherited a fatal taint of disaffection towards the Church, which found, in the horrible excesses of the Constable of Bourbon's army, so memorable and infamous a consummation. Inheriting the taint of heresy from his parents, Henry IV. of Navarre, after continuing a Protestant a whole life, professed a conversion to the Catholic faith at the precise moment when it procured him direct possession of a crown of France, a conversion which no one at the time believed to be sincere, but certainly, if it were so, was so fortunate as to justify suspicions that if to any extent sincere, it must have been accompanied with a considerable degree of mental reservation, and concealed unfaithfulness to Catholic truth. And there is less reason to question this, when we remember how many there were at that time who imitated Henry's course, and whose conduct provoked similar suspicions. If not true of him, it was unquestionably true of a host of eminent men of the day, that their conduct showed that profession of the Catholic faith was little more than profession, that conversion was often simulated for the sake of interest ; that vast numbers of nominal Catholics held, secretly, Protestant tenets, or if they believed all which

they professed, failed to realize all that they believed. At a subsequent period, when Louis XIV. denounced penalties against conversion to Protestantism, and rewards for conversion to Catholicism, he did but imitate the example so usual in the age, in holding out a premium to insincerity, and making faith the handmaid of expediency. The tendency of all this must have been, for the two centuries which elapsed between the succession of the Bourbon dynasty and the Revolution, at once to diffuse insincerity in religion, and beget a general suspicion of insincerity, most certain to result in general infidelity.

A very remarkable event occurred at the commencement of Henry's reign, illustrating the latent connection between Gallicanism and Jacobinism, which we have seen already indicated in an earlier period of French history, and which we shall see terribly displayed at a still later period. When the States General had agreed to adopt the Canons of the Council of Trent without restriction, it was in the *tiers état* that a clause was added, declaring that this was only so far as was consistent with the "liberties of the Gallican Church," which of course rendered the measure nugatory. Thus a second time was Gallicanism formally established by the Parliament of Paris, representing the spirit of nationalism in the country, and thus, under the auspices of a king who was either a hypocrite or a heretic, and probably was both, the Church and Crown of France entered upon the eventful seventeenth century.

There was another event of the early part of Henry's reign to which we must advert, on account of its significance as to the character of the age on which France was now entering, and also on account of the circumstances which led to it, and to which we must more particularly advert, as still more illustrative of the nefarious character of the age. We allude to the expulsion of the Jesuits. Here we come close to the very pith and kernel of our argument, the connection between Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism. The order of Jesus was established for the express purpose of counteracting that irreligious spirit which was now prevalent in Christendom, and of course were especially obnoxious to all insincere, corrupt, and worldly-minded men. The parliaments of France were, for the most part, composed of such men, chiefly lawyers, deadly foes of the Church. Hence they were bitter enemies of the Jesuits, and the Jansenists, when they afterwards

arose, found in the parliaments their powerful supporters. The expulsion of the Jesuits was a measure which could not be carried out without some cause, and a cause was found, in our opinion, by a foul conspiracy. There had been a suspicious attempt to assassinate the king. The criminal was made out to be a penitent of the Jesuits, and one of them, his preceptor, was exiled, and another was hanged, because it was alleged he had in his possession a paper, written in his own hand, justifying the attempt. If this were so, it is strange that he should have been *tried* only for keeping the paper in his possession, while it is easy enough to understand why this was so, supposing the paper to have been a *forgery*. Be that as it may, the matter was made a pretext by the parliaments of France for banishing the Jesuits, and though in nine years they were recalled, it was not without violent opposition from the parliaments, and the lawyers laboured hard against them.

The same parliaments were opposed to the celebrated Edict of Nantes, the great event which occurred at the eve of the seventeenth century, and which was only vindicated by Henry upon a plea which by that time no doubt was founded on fact, the plea of *necessity*. There was a necessity for it, to terminate the horrors of civil war, to which heresy had given rise. But the necessity had, as we have seen, arisen from having made religion a matter of policy, and encouraged heresy from expediency. The Huguenots had been recognized by repeated edicts of pacification, and provoked by their repeated revocations. And hence arose the necessity relied upon by Henry, which was not the less, on his lips, a plea of hypocrisy. For he had himself largely aided in causing the necessity to which he appealed, by taking up that heresy as a matter of policy, which he now established as a matter of necessity. It is a striking illustration of the hypocrisy of Henry, that at the very time he was trying to get the edict registered, he was labouring to obtain a divorce from his lawful wife. Here is the old union of heresy and adultery. As with our own Henry VIII., the amours of Henry IV. were such as to exercise an important influence upon the history of the age.

In regard to religion, there were in Paris, in the seventeenth century, four great classes: *les bons Catholiques*, who were sincere, the Protestants, the atheists, and *les*

*politiques*, whose name sufficiently indicates their character, and who consisted of bad Catholics, ready to sacrifice their religion for expediency ; as the atheists or deists consisted of those who had lost their faith through the influence of Protestantism, but who had too much sense to take up with a false religion, and too much sincerity to affect to do so ; of this class, we may observe in passing, was the secretary to Henry IV. It may be conceived that *les bons Catholiques*, as they could only regard the atheists with horror, and the Protestants with opposition, could not but revolt from *les politiques* with contempt. One or two incidents, which occurred in the year 1589, just two hundred years before the Revolution, will illustrate the state of the age, and the direction in which things were tending, and will also illustrate this great truth, which the history of these two centuries amply confirms, that it is not the *good* who have ever been disposed to persecution, that it is precisely those who are most ready to sacrifice religion to expediency, who are most ready to uphold it by cruelty, and that the same spirit which would prompt them to oppose the Holy See, would lead them to oppress their fellow-Christians.

In 1589 a Protestant minister was discovered in Paris, and led prisoner to the Bastille ; at that time his doom would have been death, according to the edict of kings, who were ever resisting the lawful supremacy of the Holy See, and robbing the Church by their arbitrary measures over her patronage ; but Busso-le-Clerc, though one of the most active on behalf of the Catholic "league," would not have the doom inflicted, and swore that the man, Huguenot as he was, was worth more than all the *politiques* of presidents and councillors, who were only hypocrites.

In the same year a similar incident occurred in respect to some Protestants brought before the curé Wincestre, one of the most zealous of *les bons Catholiques*. These two incidents are most eloquent ; they prove that in France, as in England, persecution was resorted to not by good Catholics, but by bad ones. We remember a remarkable article in the *Rambler*, which maintained this as regards England in the reign of Mary, and we are happy to illustrate it as respects France, by incidents of the age of Henry. But these incidents prove more than that ; they illustrate the intense disgust of *les bons Catholiques* for a system of religious insincerity, of hypocritical confor-

mity, of professed Catholicity, combined with secret heresy, which formed the great vice of the age, and which by displacing the bonds of morality proved the parent of all other vices, and productive of a depravity unparalleled in the history of the world, and which required to be avenged, as it was, in the slow but sure course of retributive Providence, by oceans of blood. We are anxious to illustrate this because we shall afterwards see that this dishonesty, thus so flagrant in the age of Henry IV. among *les politiques*, of whom the councillors and presidents of parliaments were conspicuous, was the distinguishing characteristic of Jansenism, which found among these parliaments its warm supporters.

The death of Henry IV., the founder of the House of Bourbon, brings us, with the accession of Louis XIII., within three reigns of the Revolution; long reigns, however, extraordinarily long, and comprehending more than a century and a half.

At the accession of Louis XIII. the Jesuits were in favour with the Court, but not so with the parliaments. Mariana's book was burnt in an ignominious manner by order of the Parliaments of Paris, and a piece of Cardinal Bellarmine seized and suppressed, as prejudicial to the civil power. When the Jesuits appealed for leave to open a college for the instruction of youth, the Parliament of Paris refused it, in compliance with the wishes of the university, and it was obtained by the sole authority of the Crown. These were signs and symptoms of that evil spirit of nationalism which had been so long rising in France. At the same time the authority of royalty was weakened by repeated insurrections of the Protestants, who during the reign of Henry had been allowed to erect themselves into a kind of independent community, with its own assemblies and aims of policy. The flames of civil war were more than once kindled by the Huguenots in the reign of Louis, and the principles of republicanism were for the first time acted on in France by the Protestant assembly of Rochelle. The policy of expediency was still pursued; it was the age of Richelieu and Rohan, and under the auspices of the Cardinal, a treaty was concluded with the Protestants, in which their right to the free exercise of their religion was distinctly recognized, and the Edict of Nantes solemnly re-confirmed. The Cardinal treated the Court of Rome with contempt when it thwarted his

schemes of policy and interdicted the French bishops from holding intercourse with the Papal nuncio. In short, every authority, every principle, however sacred, was tampered with in this unscrupulous age, for the sake of temporary expediency. What could be more certain to destroy in the minds of the nation all regard for principle, all reverence for authority ; the more so as the administration of Richelieu was marked by unrelenting severity, and the insurrections of the people, crushed by their oppressors, were punished with horrible cruelty.

Under the administration of Richelieu, the Crown had become absolute. With the accession of Louis XIV., a minor, commenced the struggle between the Crown and the Parliament of Paris, which was suspended by the personal abilities and tremendous wars of that monarch, but being resumed in the reigns of his less able successors, terminated in the convocation of the States General under Louis XVI., which led to the Revolution. The disturbances which broke out in France during the early part of the long reign of Louis XIV., show how utterly the moral bands of society had been loosened, and how its disorganized elements were kept together only by the pressure of despotism. The short space of a year or two saw one cardinal proscribed by the parliament, and another imprisoned by the Court ; the wars of the Fronde, excited by princes of the blood, and a prince of the Church ; the king summarily suppressing extraordinary sittings of the parliament by his personal interposition, after the manner of Cromwell, and repeated rebellions, excited by the oppressions of Mazarine, and constant machinations by the unscrupulous De Retz. What a state of society does the mere statement of such facts disclose !

With the majority of Louis XIV., however, the condition of France became one dead level of despotism,—corruption and oppression at home, and unscrupulous aggression abroad. The consequence was the demoralization of the people, and the accumulation of debts which ultimately embarrassed the monarchy. Louis treated the Holy See with the insolent contempt of despotic power, unchastened by religious restraints. Like Napoleon, after a similar conduct, he was destined to receive a prompt and exemplary retribution. In a year or two his prosperity was put an end to by the death of Louvois. He was arrested in his career of conquest, and had to endure disaster and dis-

grace, while his unscrupulous policy inflicted on the country equal debauchery and misery.

The authors of the Universal History thus speak of the conduct of Louis towards the Church :—“ In all the countries in Europe where the Catholic religion prevails, it has been found difficult to restrain the ambition of ecclesiastics without lessening that reverence and respect, without which the sacred functions would produce no effect on morals, and the Church would prove a mere inanimate excrescence on the state.” Of course these writers thought that Louis XIV. had attained this arduous object, but the Catholic author or reader will hardly be of that opinion. “ He maintained the right of appealing to the parliaments, (in which he attained an undisputed authority,) from the decrees of the ecclesiastical courts, whenever such decrees affected the royal prerogative. Thus he frequently supported the national privileges against the clerical ambition, and maintained the right of the Gallican Church against the usurpation of the pontiffs. His right of enjoying the revenues of bishoprics, and disposing of the dependant benefices during the vacancy of the episcopal chair, was once disputed by the two most eminent and virtuous prelates in France. Louis exerted his prerogative, and the prelates thundered out excommunication. They engaged the Pope in their quarrel, and the king, disregarding both, seized their temporalities and confirmed his authority.” This was the monarch who, under a pretence of zeal for the Catholic faith, recommenced the persecutions of the Protestants. It was not the spirit of religion but of revenge. He was a worthy descendant of Philip le Bel, and pursued the same policy. The spirit of self-will, which made him a rebel to the Church, rendered him a despot to his people. He reduced the Church to such a state of subservience and enslavement, that she lost her influence on the morals of the nation, and became a mere inanimate excrescence on the state. For three centuries the Church had been under the control of the Crown. The seed had been sown, the long reign of Louis XIV. ripened the rank fruit which such a corrupt soil could not but nurture ; and in the reign of Louis XIV. the fruit was reaped.

It was in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV. that he commenced his persecutions of the Protestants, whose heresy had now continued in the country for upwards of a century, repeatedly recognized by law, and sanctioned

by prescription. Under these circumstances measures of coercion, as they were too late to stop the progress of the heresy, can only be considered as persecution. If the king had confined himself to prohibiting the synods of the Protestant ministers, which had proved nests of sedition, or even had he been contented with the prohibition of their public worship, and of all proselytism, there might have been discovered in the events, and the sterner experience of the times, enough of palliation. But when, in 1685, penal laws were virtually enacted against the Protestants, it is impossible not to see that the spirit of intolerance was at work, that it was less a zeal for Catholicism than the instinct of despotism, which led to such persecution. In fact, the king persecuted the Protestants precisely in the same spirit as that in which he ruled the Church—the spirit of arbitrary power, of absolutism and self-will. The same haughty self-will would lead him to domineer over Catholics and Protestants: the pride for the royal supremacy would seek to gratify itself in the Church and out of it. The decree of 1686, denouncing confiscation and imprisonment upon those who relapsed into Protestantism, commences thus: "*We order, and it is our pleasure.*" That was the reason of it. It was in no spirit of conformity to any suggestions from the Holy See. It was in no single-minded zeal for the interest of religion. At that very time the king was living in adultery. Perhaps, indeed, this had something to do with this measure. He would gladly compound for his impurity by his bigotry, and hope to make up for his adultery by his ardour against heresy. A prince more pure would have been less cruel.

It was just a century before the Revolution that Louis XIV. consummated, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, a series of measures, the object of which was to make the profession of Catholicism the only path to temporal prosperity. Anything more calculated to spread the infection of religious insincerity could scarcely be conceived; and there can be no reason to question that it had that effect. But the persons who professed to relinquish their Protestantism in order to preserve their property, would not *really* do so, and would, of course, retain in secret the tenets of heresy they pretended to abandon. Thus the system must have been widely spread, if remaining in outward communion with the Church, while secretly not adhering to her faith. One shudders at the awful amount

of profanation, impiety, and sacrilege such a system must have occasioned. And let it be marked, that it continued down to the era of the Revolution. The children of those who were coerced or seduced by Louis XIV. to profess an adoption of Catholicism, must have been living at the accession of Louis XVI. But the next generation would improve upon the last, and would systemize the insincerity which their fathers had extemporized, and would find a *theory* of hypocrisy in *Jansenism*. There they were taught how they might remain *in* the Church, while not *of* the Church ; and reject the faith while retaining the *power* of Catholics. The *reaction* from such a system could scarcely be less than decisive, and its *results* could not fail to be immorality. Add to this a deeply-rooted contempt for royalty and nobility, caused by their having long been preeminent in depravity and hypocrisy, and we have the ingredients of the spirit which led to this Revolution—the elements of that terrible catastrophe in which morality was so awfully revenged, and impiety so signally developed. In that, as in all such cases, the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children, (for this among other reasons may assist in making reparation for the crime)—and just a hundred years after Protestant fugitives from the hypocritical cruelty of Louis XIV. were stopped by the sword, *royalist* emigrants were brought back to slaughter.

Alison ascribes the Revolution in a great degree to the depression of Protestantism by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He says :

"The Romish hierarchy had long regarded with a jealous eye the privileges conceded to the Protestants by the generous toleration of Henry IV. and the edict of Nantes, by which his wisdom had settled the religious disputes of the sixteenth century, was to them in an especial manner, the object of disquietude. The old Chancellor Tellier, at the age of eighty-three, requested the king to afford him the consolation, before he died, of witnessing the recal of the hateful edict; and so great was the influence of the *violent* Romish party, that his desire was soon accomplished. On the 5th of Oct., 1685, the fatal revocation appeared, and the whole of the Huguenots of the kingdom were abandoned at once to persecution, violence, and military execution. Such was the fanaticism of the age, that a perfidious act of despotism, which, in its ultimate consequences, induced the ruin of the Christian religion in France, and brought the great-grandson of the reigning monarch to the scaffold, was celebrated by the ablest divines of the Romish Church as the greatest triumph to the true faith which had occurred."

And then he quotes Bossuet (who, it is to be presumed, the great Protestant historian classes among the “*violent Romish party*”), omitting altogether to observe or to draw attention to the fact that the language of Bossuet clearly indicates that the cause of his exultation was a conviction on his part that there was a universal reaction in favour of the true faith, and that the measure was not more an arbitrary exertion of absolute power than the royal sanction of a national movement. It is thus that Bossuet writes :

“*Nos pères n'avoient pas eu comme nous, une heresie inveterée tomber tout-a-coup : les troupeaux revenu en foule, et nos églises trop étroites pour les recevoir, leurs faux pasteurs les abandonner sans même en attendre l'ordre, et heureux d'avoir à leur assigner leur bassissement pour excuse—tout calme dans un si grand mouvement.*”

Heedless of this, Alison hastens to add :

“Eight years after these *Io Pœans* were sung by the Romish hierarchy, an obscure individual was born, who shook to its foundation the Roman Catholic faith in France, and derived his chief weapons from this atrocious act of perfidy—*Voltaire*. ”

“The act of perfidy” was the act of a monarch who withheld from the Church her liberty ; and who was as detestable for immorality as for tyranny. His despotic spirit rendered him as insolent to the Holy See as he was persecuting to Protestants ; but his tyranny was less injurious than his immorality, the infection in which originated that immorality whence arose the infidelity of which Voltaire was the apostle, and the Revolution the result. At the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the Church of France had long been labouring under the benumbing influence of Gallicanism, and, as we shall see, was becoming infected with Jansenism. This it is to which we are to ascribe the sad destruction of those happy prospects as to the revival of religion, by which, rather than the recurrence to persecution, the eloquence of Bossuet was inspired, though Mr. Alison must be aware that the bishop of Meaux was not what would be termed “ultramontane” in his ideas, and regarded the exercise of royal authority in religious affairs not quite with orthodox views.

That a season of irreligion did follow the event referred to is unquestionable, but, as we have seen, it preceded it, and we shall afterwards show its connection with Jansenism. Mr. Alison says :

"From the revocation of the edict of Nantes is to be dated the commencement of a series of causes and effects which closed the reign of Louis XIV. in mourning, induced weakness and disgrace on the French monarchy, spread the fatal poison of irreligion among its inhabitants, and finally overthrew the throne and Church."

Here is a distinct admission that the *fatal poison of irreligion* was the great cause of the Revolution. This is our own conclusion. We only differ from Mr. Alison as to the source from which that fatal poison flowed. Does he think that the "series of causes and effects" to which he ascribes its hideous effects commenced only from the revocation of the edict of Nantes? Why in his own showing it must have commenced far earlier. If the decree were as atrocious as he terms it, then the real cause of any ill effect it produced was not the decree, but the state of public mind in France which led to it. Right or wrong, the decree resulted in a previous state of the national mind, for it is Mr. Alison's own account of the matter, that the decree was, to a great extent, in harmony with the policy of the nation; taking his own view even to be correct, we must go further back than the decree itself for the cause of the events that followed. And this is what we have endeavoured to do; strange that it should not have occurred to the historian to do so. He himself mentions the depravity of the court of Louis XIV. Had that nothing to do with the infidelity which followed? Why does a Protestant historian find greater affinity for infidelity in bigotry than in immorality?

There is a very eloquent passage in a recent work of that illustrious Catholic, the Count de Montalembert, which conveys a vivid idea of the state of the Gallican Church at this corrupt era, and a truer idea of the cause of the Revolution than occurred to the Protestant historian.

"Never again shall we witness a return of those days when rebellion against Rome, and the imaginary necessity of contesting her prerogatives, had seized upon the purest and greatest minds; when Bossuet appealed from the ecclesiastical court to the parliament of Paris, against a bull that had been issued five years before; when twenty bishops might have been seen at the king's levee; but when it would have been considered a crime against the State for any one of those bishops to have thought of repairing to Rome, to visit the tombs of the apostles, in fulfilment of the vow which he had taken at his consecration; when the sentiment of Christian fraternity had become so extinct in the heart, that the continual persecution of Ireland,

the atrocious treatment inflicted by Charles III. and Pombal upon the Jesuits of Spain and Portugal, the barbarous cruelty exercised by Catherine towards the Polish Catholics, failed to excite a single word of commiseration, I do not say in the breasts of the philosophers and philanthropists of the time, but in those of the prelates and priests of France and Germany ; when the jubilee brought to Rome but one solitary French priest, Father Bridaine ; when corrupt prelates, like the Cardinal of Briennes, presided over the suppressions of the monasteries ; when the gigantic monuments of the faith of our forefathers were turned to ridicule by minds as exalted as those of Fenelon and Fleury, and systematically devastated by those to whose keeping they had been confided ; when the whole history of the great Catholic ages was unworthily forgotten or falsified, the lives of the saints mutilated, the glory of the most illustrious Popes denied, and of deference to miserable prejudices ; when Jansenist puritanism was adopted and practised by the sincerest adversaries of Jansenism, as a sort of preservative against the contempt which must have been shown towards Gallican servility ; when the liturgy, that sacred deposit of the Catholic faith, piety, and poetry, was arbitrarily altered, and varied in every diocese, to suit inspirations of the most suspicious nature."

After this, it is historically untrue to represent corruption which led to the Revolution as the result of Romanism. It was the result of Gallicanism, and the Church can never be rendered responsible for the moral state of a nation in which she is not allowed free action. It is as untrue to attribute the persecution of that age to the Church, as its corruption. The revocation of the edict of Nantes was a measure actuated by the same spirit of despotism which dictated the four Articles of the Gallican Church, in 1682, and the prelates who approved the one applauded the other.

The conduct of Louis XIV. with regard to the Church is the exact prototype of that of Napoleon. He assumed at once to deal with the temporalities of the vacant benefices as his own, and to fill up the vacancies ; and he did so in spite of censures and excommunications. He defied the authority of the Pope, and seized the Papal territories, in order to enforce his own nomination of prelates, and sent hostile forces to enter the Holy See, and overawe the successor of St. Peter. He expected from the Vicar of Christ implicit obedience to his mandates, and behaved towards him in the insolence of the haughtiest despotism. He established in 1684 four "Articles," which, in substance, almost substituted the royal for the papal supremacy over

the Gallican Church; and which reduced it to a state of servile subjugation. He treated the religious affairs of Catholics and Protestants with equal tyranny, and persecuted both if they thwarted his arbitrary will. In the same spirit of despotism he revoked the edict of Nantes, and established the four articles; and he imprisoned the Jansenists from the same temper which led the parliaments to persecute the Jesuits. An embodiment of egotism, and therefore of Gallicanism: his maxim was, “*l'état c'est moi*;” and in his construction of it the State included the Church. His language was, “His majesty wishes that the utmost severities may be enforced against those who will not adopt *his religion*. His majesty wishes you to express yourself in the most severe terms against those who are determined to profess a religion which displeases him.” In all this he was the successor of Philip le Bel, and the precursor of Napoleon. The spirit of despotism is the same in every age. It was in the corrupt age of Louis XIV. when Jansenism arose. It was propagated in France by the abbot St. Cyran, who had been at his accursed work a great part of 20 years before he was, in 1638, imprisoned by Richelieu. He was kept in confinement until 1643, and died the same year. We need hardly mention that his adherents included some of the most intellectual men in France—Arnauld, Nicole, Quesnel—and one who was himself a host—Pascal. Moreover, not a few of the French bishops gave his bad cause their countenance. It is well known what zealous opponents the new heresy found in the then newly-founded Society of Jesus, who seemed to have been raised up for the special purpose of combating Protestantism in all its subtle forms of heresy. Of these, beyond all doubt, Jansenism was the most subtle and insidious. We will describe, in the language of Mosheim, the conduct of the Jansenists in this great controversy:

“The Jansenists enervated the decrees of the Pope or the mandates of the king by the most subtle distinctions and interpretations, nay, by the very sophistry which they condemned in the Jesuits; to the menaces of great men and bishops they opposed the force of the multitude, and physical force they vanquished by the miracles of which they boasted. They actually sought to persuade, and did persuade many to believe that God himself espoused their cause, and that he had by prodigies and miracles placed the truth of their teaching beyond controversy.”

They themselves avowed that they relied on miracles in

support of their cause,\* the fame of which created great noise in Paris from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, but of which, as they were all miserable impostures, the ultimate result must have been an immense increase of scepticism. And in point of fact, as the age of Jansenism succeeded that of Gallicanism, we shall see the age of Deism followed that of Jansenism. It was in 1650 that these pretended miracles commenced ; and in 1731 they were consummated by the indecent impostures practised at the tomb of the Abbé Paris.

The dishonest nature of Jansenism was illustrated in the conclusion of the contest. In 1665, the Pope having condemned five propositions as embodying its spirit, the supporters of the heresy actually raised an issue as to whether these propositions were to be found in their works ; and maintained that the Holy See, however infallible on questions of theology, was not so upon questions of fact. Wretched sophistry ! As if it was not a question of theology what was the theological bearing of certain theological treatises ! Or as if the supremacy of the Holy See could be consistent with allowing national or local tribunals to determine what came within its sway ! This was a sophistry quite in keeping with the system of Gallicanism, which, while nominally admitting the supremacy of the Holy See in matters spiritual, sophisticated it away by maintaining that ecclesiastical matters were not spiritual, and that royal or national authority ought to determine what was so. Here we see clearly that Jansenism and Gallicanism were systems of kindred character, and had similar causes and consequences. Both found support in the spirit of nationalism, which was equally held by the court and by the parliaments, and, we are compelled to add, the episcopate of France. For in 1669 not less than three-and-twenty French bishops gave so far a qualified support to Jansenism, as to oppose the papal condemnation of it, and, under the auspices of Anne of Bourbon, extort from the Holy See the decree which was called the peace of Clement IX., and which was interpreted into an indulgence to the maintenance of the heresy; an interpretation, however, which, in 1679, was, by the exertions of the Jesuits, formally condemned ; and then Jansenism was dealt with in

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\* *Memoires de Port Royal, tome 1, p. 256.*

the same way as Protestantism, and, as in both instances, it was too late, with the same result, indeed, probably with like success. Persecution only introduced dissimulation, and Jansenism was a system of greater dishonesty and subtlety than simple Protestantism. It had long relied upon the subterfuge of pretending to retain Catholic doctrines while practically sophisticating them away. The Jansenists had only now learnt to keep their sophistications secret; and doubtless they did so. And though the leaders fled, the heresy was not suppressed, but lurked like a poison in the social body, all the more fatal because so insidious. Nor can there be a question that the result of this system of insincerity and the reaction from the iniquities perpetrated by Jansenism, was to augment the mass of scepticism which was rapidly infecting the whole mass of French society, and converting it into a nation of Deists. One sufficient evidence of this is in the simple fact that though the Jansenists were apparently suppressed, they in reality ultimately triumphed. The spirit they infused into French society, rankled and worked until it resulted in the *expulsion of the Jesuits*. Serpent-like they left their venom in the wound, and destroyed their destroyers. The Jesuits rose again, indeed. But first France had her retribution. It was, the *Revolution*.

And now our readers will be prepared to appreciate the nervous, masculine, and masterly narrative which Father Dalgairns, in his valuable and original little work, has given of the rise of Jansenism. It is only with the historical portion of the book that we have at present to do. That part of it which has a theological or devotional aspect, would be foreign to our subject, though we cannot refer to it even thus casually without expressing our grateful and warm appreciation of it. Father Dalgairns writes :

"Jansenism was a planned systematic conspiracy against Rome ; but not in the same sense as that of Luther and Calvin. Geneva and Augsburg waged an open war ; Jansenism was a secret plot. Its strength did not lie in its doctrines, but in the terrible tenacity with which its disciples clung to them, and the no less terrible obstinacy with which they determined to remain within the visible communion of the Church of God, for the very purpose of eating into its vitals, and braving its decrees."

Elsewhere Father Dalgairns speaks justly of the dishonest spirit of Jansenism, and the reader has been pre-

pared for it by the review we have taken of the insincerity on the subject of religion, which had for a century before the rise of Jansenism, infected the character of the leading men of France. The French nation, as a nation, had never accepted Protestantism.

"Accordingly, Henry IV., after having fought his way to the throne of France, felt that he could not be its genuine king while he remained a Huguenot; and the fall of la Rochelle proclaimed for ever that Protestant power was at an end, at the moment that the 'Augustinus' was working in the brow of Jansenius, and the plot was ripening in the restless mind of St. Cyran."

"That there was from the first a plot to form a party within the Catholic Church, and to overwhelm her, there is abundant evidence to prove....That there was at the outset of the existence of Jansenism a dishonest scheme for remaining within the Church, to alter her whole discipline, and to thrust upon her doctrines what were not hers, is sufficiently plain. Before the publication of the 'Augustinus,' before what was called Jansenism existed, the eagle eye of Richelieu had been fixed on St. Cyran, and the future heresiarch had been lodged in Vincennes. The act may have been arbitrary, but there was abundant evidence of a conspiracy against the Church in the huge collection of manuscripts found in his cabinet. When entreated to release St. Cyran from his prison, Richelieu answered, 'If Luther and Calvin had been dealt with as I have dealt with St. Cyran, France and Germany would have been spared the torrents of blood which have inundated them for fifty years.'"

But it is impossible not to remark, that if Protestantism had not been dealt with in the way which Richelieu dealt with it—upon the mere policy of *expediency*—these torrents of blood would never have flowed, and the effusion of greater oceans still would have been spared. Where policy did not interpose, Richelieu, no doubt, was sincere in zeal for Catholicity. On this occasion he was prompt; but prompt as he was, he was too late; which he never was in matters of state policy. "St. Cyran's party," says Father Dalgairns, "had been already formed, and its most important acquisitions made, before he was consigned to prison." The greatest of these acquisitions were the family of Arnauld. We beg attention to what follows:

"It was an indication which the history of the party never belied, that it would have on its side one great political power in the realm—that of the Parliaments. The Abbess of Port Royal belonged to one of the great legal families of France—to the noblesse de la robe. Her father was one of that race of bold lawyers who were equally

ready to plead a cause, and levy a regiment of musketeers against the (Catholic) league. Her grandfather had been a Protestant, and had narrowly escaped with his life on the day of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Afterwards he became a Catholic ; but he left as a baneful inheritance to his family the principles of *Parliamentary Gallicanism* in their worst form. He was the fitting type of the spirit of the parliaments of France."

The history of this single family will do as well to illustrate our argument as the history of many. Here we see clearly the affinity between Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism. The spirit of the parliaments of France, who, we shall see, compelled the convocation of the States General, which resulted in the national assembly, and the sovereignty of Jacobinism—was a spirit of nationalism opposed to Catholicism ; and hence its sympathy for Jansenism.

"These great legal bodies of the realm were ever distinguished for their hatred to Rome. Sprung, as they were, from the monarch who dragged Boniface VIII. from Anagni, they ever showed signs of this original sin of their existence. Such a party was glad enough to have a faction within the Church to help them : and they were ever in the stoutest league with the Jansenists, so soon as the death of Louis XIV. left them to their natural instincts."

How admirably, in a terse sentence or two, does Father Dalgairns describe and confirm all that we have been labouring to establish by our review of French history! Nothing could be more graphic than his description of the evil work which went on in the seclusion of Port Royal.

"Who, in looking down from the heights above on its peaceful conventional buildings, could suspect for a moment that he was standing on the crater of a volcano ? Yet the solitaries who dwelt in that valley were in league with the machinations of the Fronde. If there are barricades in the streets of Paris, and fighting about the Palais Royal, the Duke de Luynes, a Jansenist, is a member of the upper council of the rebels, and the Chevalier de Sevigné, another Jansenist, commands the regiment levied by De Retz. The coadjutor himself,\* the wild and turbid spirit whom his own confessions have revealed to us,—while he was evoking from the alleys and hovels of Paris the haggard artizans, whose descendants in the great Revolution travelled the road to Versailles with pike and gun, *de Retz himself was in league with Port Royal.*"

"During the tumult it is said that there was as much hurrying

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\* Cardinal de Retz was coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris.

to and fro between Paris and the Thebaïd of the solitaries, as between the capital and a royal residence in a time of war. Nor can the utmost charity suppose them to have been ignorant as were many others, of the character of De Retz, when his paramour, the princess de Guémené, when he was as yet only Abbé de Gondi, was the friend of Arnauld d'Andilly, and oscillated between Port Royal and the scene of her guilt. The same dishonourable spirit marked the whole policy of the party. They carried into theology the spirit of lawyers, and of dishonest ones too. They fought the whole battle with Rome by a series of quibbles, of which a respectable attorney would be ashamed. And while this disgraceful contest was going on, and consciences were perplexed and tortured by it, the solitaries did not disdain machinations of other sorts, in other places. There were intrigues up the back-stairs of palaces, and courtiers in the halls of the Tuilleries executed schemes which had been planned in the solitude of Port Royal. When Fouquet, the minister of finance fell, mysterious relations between him and Port Royal were discovered, and Louis XIV. was surprised into choosing an Arnauld as the colleague of Colbert and Louvois."

The vigour with which this picture is drawn, is only equalled by its fidelity. The connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism is strikingly shown. As clear is the connection between Jansenism and Rationalism. It was a spirit of scepticism.

"In this zeal for primitive times the Port Royalists did not spare the Acts of the Martyrs. The beautiful stories of the virgin martyrs—St. Cecilia and St. Agnes—were discredited on the very ground of their being supernatural, as though Christianity was not a supernatural religion, and as though there was anything intrinsically improbable in the descent of angelic visitors, or the outburst of heavenly visions in the dungeon of a martyr. They thought themselves happy, if with painful erudition they discovered that the narrator of the triumphant death of a martyr made some blunder in the name of a Roman legion, or in the official title of some Roman magistrate; while they treated with contempt even as a mere historical testimony the fact that the tradition of the Church had consecrated the legend from time immemorial."

That this spirit was the offspring of Protestantism is as plain as that it would infallibly lead to Rationalism. Elsewhere Father Dalgairns speaks of the "*strong hard heart*" of Jansenism; and we know of no expression more descriptive of Jacobinism:

"Such," says Father Dalgairns, "was Jansenism in its first stage, the most repulsive and the most dishonest of heresies. Its fatalist

doctrines, its stern and arrogant spirit, its unmercifulness—all is un-Christian and unlovely about it."

The teaching of such a system, and diffusing it in such a spirit, would hardly have had any other effect than to pave the way for a cruel and remorseless Revolution. Calvinism is the sure precursor of scepticism ; and scepticism is cruel and sanguinary because it knows nothing of souls : and looks on human beings as a tribe of insects, to be trampled upon without pity, and extinguished without remorse. So wrote Robert Hall of modern infidelity, which found its saturnalia in the Revolution. The moral connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism is as clear as the historical.

" As time went on all the evil characteristics of Jansenism came out with greater prominence. Arnauld died true to his heresy in the arms of Quesnel : Pascal went before him to the tomb. But if they could have risen from their graves, and seen the party which they served better than their God in the days of its degradation, when ridiculous and indecent attempts at miracles, such as would disgrace a congregation of Jumpers, were performed at the tomb of the Abbé of Paris, how would their proud foreheads have blushed for shame. What if they had looked forward some years further, and had seen Jansenism in an unnatural alliance with infidelity, pushing the prelates of France off their episcopal thrones, and investing themselves in whatever share of the spirit their new friends chose contemptuously to fling to them. Here was Jansenism in its true shape, a mere faction and a party ; and, like everything else which is a mere party, it hung itself on to every power, imperial or republican, which could give it a chance of success. Its professors were courtiers at Vienna, and wore the red cap of liberty in Paris. During the period immediately preceding the French Revolution, and during its first stages, the Jansenists were the tools of every party : their great principle, that it was possible to belong to the Church, and yet be her opponent in matters in which she was not infallible, and their claim, at the same time, to be the judges of those matters, was a convenient weapon for a despot like Joseph II., as well as for the revolutionary leaders, who established the constitutional Church. The last miserable remnant of them perished on the scaffold, dragged to the guillotine by the hands of the men whom they had assisted to destroy the Church. Fenelon, in 1705, was still alive, consecrating all his energies to the destruction of Jansenism. He died in 1715, with his dying breath entreating Louis XIV. to carry on the fight against it.

" After Louis XIV. was dead, the power of the parliaments rose, and with them rose a party which had all along clung to them. The question almost ceased to be a doctrinal one ; it assumed

everywhere a legitimate form of a revolt against ecclesiastical authority. The parliament of Paris had only been overawed by the authority of Louis into registering the bull *Unigenitus* as a law of the land, and now used that bull as a war-cry against the Church. Four years after Louis XIV. was in his grave, the parliament of Paris ordered the letters of two bishops in favour of the bull to be burned by the hands of the public executioner. The bishop of Marseilles, in 1720, was a special mark for the enmity of the parliament of Provence on account of his zeal against the Jansenists, and the temporalities of his see were more than once sequestered in revenge for his efforts in favour of the reception of the bull *Unigenitus*."

The vivid and vigorous pen of Father Dalgairns has thus carried us into the centre of the reign of Louis XV., the reign immediately preceding the Revolution, and has sufficiently depicted the rise and reign, the nature and the spirit of Jansenism. We can show from the pages of Mr. Alison its connection with Jacobinism and the Revolution.

Strange that in this corrupt age and country the devotion to the Sacred Heart should have arisen, and become established contemporaneously with that sad state of things which led to the Revolution. The history of the devotion is thus closely and curiously associated with that of Jacobinism and Jansenism. It has a singular effect upon the mind to pass from the outer world of depraved courts and caballing parliaments, to the inner world of the Church, with its calm cloisters and saintly contemplation. This is the charm and the peculiarity of Father Dalgairns' book, and one of the most striking passages in it is that in which he thus contrasts these two worlds at the era of the rise of this devotion.

"It was to this gentle and holy nun, (Margaret Alocoque,) that Jesus chose to entrust the spreading of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. There were men enough in France, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, to help on the work of God. Bossuet was there, high in favour with Louis XVI., yet his commanding influence was not brought into operation to aid the poor nun of the Visitation. The lowly sister of an obscure convent, in a little town of Burgundy, was too deeply hidden to meet the eye even of the far-sighted eagle of Meaux. Then there was Fénelon, the high-minded and unworldly prelate, still ruling over the archiepiscopal See of Cambray; it would have been well for him if he had but bent his bold and noble intellect, his fluent speech and perfect mastery over the artistic structure of his native tongue, to the adornment of a

theme well suited to his affectionate piety, and far other than the mystic dreams of the visionary who deceived him. And what was St. Sulpice about that it ignored the lowly nun ? M. Olier was dead, but his spirit still lived in his congregation, and it was the most influential body in the Church of France. If the advocacy of the devotion to the Sacred Heart had been simply entrusted to them, nothing would have been easier than to propagate it, granting that it was an earthly thing to be spread by earthly means. But God did not choose that anything strong with the strength of the earth should be the source of His work, He would have it all His own. No aid was given to the holy virgin to whom Jesus gave it in charge, to make known to the world the yearnings of His Sacred Heart. There is no single great name of all that then adorned the Church of France, which is even mentioned in her history."

Well would it have been for France had the devotion spread so speedily as to have seized on the souls of the millions of the rising generation. What oceans of blood would have been saved ! But, alas ! the devotion did not spread speedily. Father Dalgairns powerfully describes the obstacles and obstructions it met with ; its chief opponents were Jansenists, its chief supporters the Jesuits.

Myriads would revolt from the horrors of the Reign of Terror, or the more flagrant iniquities of Jansenism, who would, nevertheless, harbour in their minds the elements of character in which Jansenism had its rise, and to which Jacobinism owed its origin. "The history of Jansenism," says Father Dalgairns, "shows us how men may believe in the great doctrines of Catholicism, even in the abstract infallibility of the Church, yet may play into the hands of Protestants or infidels, by believing as little as possible, and rejecting all which, though technically not of faith, yet is the universal practice of good Catholics." Father Dalgairns applies this particularly to the devotions of the Church, which, he says, are the legitimate consequences of her doctrines, so that a contempt for them shows that the doctrines have no hold on the mind that despises them. This observation he illustrates with special reference to the Sacred Heart, and does so most impressively. He hits the real cause of all these heresies or infidelities in Catholic countries, when he speaks of those on whose mind the doctrines of the Church have no hold. That is to say, they are not in earnest ; they act as though the doctrines were not true, and thus tempt others to persuade themselves they were not so, if they do not end in think-

ing so themselves. There can be no more fertile source of infidelity or heresy, and hence it is that between Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism, there has been so much of a deep though latent association. Tepid Catholics were the first who set up the liberties of the Gallican church against the Holy See; bad Catholics were the first Jansenists, men who had not imbibed the spirit of the Church, nor realized her doctrines; and Jacobites were only men who acted as if Gallicanism and Jacobinism were true, and developed those vitiated elements of character from which they emanated, especially that intense egotism which was equally manifested in the despotism of Richelieu or the Jacobinism of Robespierre.

Here we must introduce some powerful passages from the book of Father Dalgairns, which will show the connection between our subject and his, between the devotions to the Sacred Heart and the Holy See, and will throw the clearest light upon the real causes of Jacobinism.

"During the Orleans regency and the reign of Louis XV. the efforts of the episcopate of France were utterly paralyzed by the power of the parliaments, in all the measures which they adopted against the fearful torrent of infidelity and vice. Humanly speaking, it seemed as though Christianity itself was disappearing. It is not wonderful that we find the devotion to the Sacred Heart everywhere the subject of the ridicule of the Jansenists. It is a significant fact that the prelates of France, who were most devout to the Sacred Heart, were at the same time marked out for the special hostility of the formidable parliaments, on account of their efforts against Jansenism. Of the two bishops whose letters in favour of the bull *Unigenitus*, the parliament of Paris ordered to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, one was Languet, bishop of Soissons, the author of the famous life of the Venerable Mary Margaret Alacoque."

One of the most striking features of Father Dalgairns' book is, the masterly way in which he connects the latent principles of antagonism or association springing out of the spiritual state of men, thus throwing a very vivid and original light on the events of history. He describes, in a most powerful way, the manner in which the bishop of Marseilles, in 1720, suppressed the plague by processions and devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart, and then points out that this prelate was a special mark for the enmity of the parliament of Paris, on account of his zeal against the Jansenists.

"So true is it," he says, "that a courageous defence of the faith against the Jansenist heresy, always went hand in hand with devotion to the Sacred Heart." It might occur to many readers that no two subjects could have less connection than a devotion to the Sacred Heart and the political power of a parliament; but the perusal of the work of Father Dalgairns will not only show this to be a great mistake, but will show that this is the very feeling to which Gallicanism and Jansenism and all their prolific fruits of evil are to be ascribed—the idea that the spiritual should be separate from the temporal, the supernatural from the natural, whereas the great object is to influence the natural by the supernatural, the temporal by the spiritual, and out of the neglect and defect of this the tremendous tragedy of the Revolution arose. We gladly quote again from Father Dalgairns, who will make more clear than we can our argument and his own.

"The heresy broke out after a century and a half in the court of Vienna, and on the very frontiers of the States of the Church. In the hands of Joseph II. it had dropped its doctrinal character. 'The Church is infallible in doctrinal matters,' was his language, 'but there is a vast body of opinion in the Church which it is possible for men to disbelieve, and yet be very good Catholics. Let us keep to what is matter of faith, all the rest belongs to the jurisdiction of the state.' And he proceeded to make war on the discipline of the Church and its devotions.

"He abolished all confraternities, he laid a restriction on the number of masses, he forbade any devotions to be used except such as were strictly provided for in the rubrics of the Church. As Jansenism in France aimed a mortal blow at piety, by discouraging frequent communion, so Joseph II. took upon himself to destroy all the popular devotions which, without being indissolubly bound up with the Church, yet are tolerated and authorized by her. It was, however, in the Jansenist Synod of Pistoja that this spirit was embodied in rules, and took a definite shape. In spite of and in direct opposition to the Holy See, Ricci, the schismatical bishop of Pistoja, collected a synod of his clergy, the decrees of which have been severally condemned at Rome. It is in this famous synod that almost all the practices of piety, universal among the faithful, are reprobated and forbidden, on the ground that they are not of faith. The members of the assembly lay down as a fundamental maxim, that 'a great distinction is to be made between what is of faith and of the essence of religion, and what simply belongs to discipline'; and then they proceed to assume that the discipline of the Church may be most freely discussed, as though there was no competent authority to make it binding. They attack the adminis-

tration of the sacrament of penance, and the giving of absolution before the performance of the penance enjoined. They condemn devotion to particular images, and the common doctrine of indulgences, novenas, and indulgence-prayers. They reprobate excess of devotion to our dear Lady, and finally, out of all the particular devotions of the Church, they single out that to the Sacred Heart as being novel, erroneous, and dangerous."

No one will question that Father Dalgairns has made clear the secret association between Jansenism and opposition to devotion to the Sacred Heart. Equally clear is the association between Jansenism and Jacobinism.

There are some most important passages, in which he shows the moral character of Jansenism, from which we may readily conceive the tendency it would have to promote a reaction into sensuality and infidelity :

" It is not to be supposed that the religionists who held, in opposition to the Church, that Christ did not die for all mankind, could easily brook the less rigid discipline by which pardon was given to the sinner the instant that he gave morally sufficient signs of repentance, without waiting for the tardy process of years to assure the Church of his reformation. One of the chiefs of the Jansenist party wrote a book against frequent communion. It was one of their opinions that absolution was invalid if it were given before the penance imposed was performed, and in all cases they wished to revive the ancient canons by which absolution was deferred until years of public penance had been undergone. Books were written against devotion to our Lady. Port Royal became the centre of a great *intellectual movement*, by which France was inundated with works depreciating the traditions and the discipline of the Church. Under their influence all that was tender, loving, and beautiful in the Christian faith perished in this fanatical attempt to bring back what could never return. Such was Jansenism in its first stage, the most repulsive and most dishonest of heresies. Its fatalist doctrines, its stern and arrogant spirit, its *unmercifulness to sinning souls*, —all was unchristian and unlovely about her. The attempt to remain in the Church when they were not of her turned a great number of men of great talents and energy of character into traitors. They attempted what was impracticable ; they tried to be Catholic without being Roman—to believe in the infallibility of an abstract Church of the past or the future while they rebelled against the present everliving Church of God. All withered under their touch, hagiology, ecclesiastical history, spiritual reading, and devotion."

The reader cannot fail to observe in this able description of Jansenism its strong resemblance to Gallicanism as regards its *result*, and its substantial identity with Ration-

alism, as respects its *rise*. Its *source* was pride of intellect : its ultimate issue, scepticism. Father Dalgairns describes the reaction, from rigidity to licentiousness, and the process of corruption from hypocrisy of heresy to the depravity of immorality.

" Their pretensions to strictness of discipline broke down under the force of circumstances. They became all things to all men, by a base truckling to the interests of their faction. They allowed of the impure romances of Mademoiselle de Scudéri, because their party was praised in the Clélie. While the Jansenist discipline was carried out in one of the parishes of Paris, and penitents excluded from Mass beat their breasts outside the church, the Princess de Guéméné was living in the environs of Port Royal. The severity of Jansenism could hardly be a greater guarantee for repentance than the mild discipline of the Church when it was compatible with the impenitence of a De Retz, and the feeble penance of such a recidive as Anne de Rohan."

Thus the rigidity of Jansenism had resulted in an increase of vice : and its hypocrisy augmented the depravity of the age, and must have tended to extend the fatal infection of infidelity, as well from these causes as from its pandering to human pride, and its idolatry of intellect ; and so it was rapidly developing into the Rationalism which resulted in the Revolution. Those who have observed anything of the effects of sin upon the soul are well aware (and none could have known it better than the Jesuits, the intrepid antagonists of the Jansenists,) that the worst of its most deadly effects is its tendency to alienate the soul from God, and keep it in a state of estrangement, so as to preclude the soul ordinarily, and, apart from any very special grace, from exerting, while in that state of sin, any effective acts of contrition, or of supporting any degree of devotion or attraction for God ; and that this is peculiarly the effect in regard to the sin of impurity, which so corrupts the affections and so enfeebles the mind, that the unhappy subject of it can scarcely raise the most languid dispositions of contrition, or resist the most casual temptation ; especially if the sin be habitual, as it was with the mass of the higher classes in the seventeenth century in France. Hence the effect of the Jansenistic system of repelling men from absolution until they were in a condition not only to make an effective act of contrition, but to endure temptation and support penance for a considerable period—was practically to exclude such persons from the benefit of

sacramental absolution, and there can be no reasonable doubt that its result must have been, in myriads of instances, relapses—fatal and permanent relapses into sin ; that is, in the cases in which the system was carried out. In those in which it was not, the same result would be produced in another way—by producing a sense of insincerity, destructive to religious dispositions, and likely to lead to general unbelief. Such we shall see, at all events, was the *result* of Jansenism.

We must come to the “beginning of the end.” In 1752, when the contest was carried on between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, a cold and keen observer, Lord Chesterfield, wrote thus :

“The affairs of France grow serious. The people are discontented. Those who have religion are divided in their notions of it, which is saying that they hate one another ; the clergy will not forgive the parliament, nor the parliament forgive them ; the French nation *reason freely* (*which they never did before*) on matters of religion and government ; in short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in history previous to great changes and revolutions in governments exist and increase in France.”

Very acute observations these ; and marvellously accurate prognostications. Forty years elapsed before the Revolution was consummated which Lord Chesterfield predicted ; and forty years before it came it was foreseen ; and foreseen chiefly on account of the unsettlement of the French nation in matters of religion ; mainly caused by the controversies and contests raised by Jansenism. At this very time the struggle was raging. In the midst of it the Abbé Turgot, who had abandoned the ecclesiastical state because he said he could not wear a mask all his life, and had become a disciple of the illuminists and economists, published some letters in favour of *toleration* ; i. e., of latitudinarianism. The Abbé was a true pupil of Jansenism. The fruit of his “toleration,” ten or twelve years after, was the expulsion of the Jesuits. It was a toleration ready to tolerate anything but Catholicism.

The retribution of Providence was never more remarkably illustrated than with regard to the proximate cause of the Revolution. That cause was immorality, but what was the cause of that ? Beyond all doubt the infectious depravity of the sovereigns and nobles. And what had caused that ? The depravity of the prelates and other ecclesiastics attached to the court. And *how came they there?* Through the Crown having secured the chief

control in the patronage of the Church, and the Holy See having lost its due influence over it. Fenelon was the tutor of the Duc de Bourgogne, whose death was such a loss to the world, and who proved so worthy of his preceptor. But Fenelon was a rare exception to the class of prelates commonly found about the French court. The abominable Abbé Dubois was the preceptor of the Regent Orleans, who did so much to influence the character of Louis XV., the iniquities of whose reign were so awfully avenged in that of his unhappy son. The immorality of the court reacted on the episcopate ; the immorality of the episcopate reacted on the court, while the immorality of the priesthood, the result of both, reacted upon the people, and spread the infection of scepticism and depravity. Here was the consummation of Gallicanism and Jansenism.

Ever since the Council of Trent the crown and realm of France had been in a state of revolt from Rome. The canons of that council, as to discipline, had never been admitted ; not merely the sovereigns but the parliaments had been against it ; the secular power had succeeded in having its own way to the utmost extent consistent with nominal orthodoxy, and now we see the result ; and we shall soon see the retribution. A clergy corrupted by the Crown, corrupted the people, and the parliaments, which had connived at the corruption of both, destroyed all, and wrapped France in the flames of Revolution. Let the great lesson be well read. Royalty had its own way in the Gallican Church, and *ruined* it, and with it ruined the realm, and destroyed itself.

One remarkable fact will show how the system of State influence had worked during the century preceding the Revolution. Alison states that when M. de la Vrillière surrendered the seals of the home office, which he had held for half a century, to Malsherbes in 1775, there was no party, religious or political, the chiefs of which he had not, on some occasions, sent into exile or immured in the bastile.

"The Jesuits and the Jansenists, the leaders of the Church and the philosophical atheists, had *been indiscriminately visited* with this terrible penalty. He had immured the Molinist friends of the Pope at the desire of the Regent Orleans, who depended on the parliaments : he had next sent to the bastile the Jansenists in great numbers, to pay court to the Abbé Dubois, who was intriguing at

Rome to obtain "a cardinal's hat ; under Cardinal Fleury he had confined the leaders of the parliament who opposed the court."

Such had been the system under the same minister for half a century before 1775. That carries us back to 1725, the age of Richelieu, from whom, we need hardly say, the system was borrowed, and who had only developed and extended what he found established. The spirit of Gallio governed those who ruled the Church : what wonder that it was infused into the Church and the nation, destroying the one, and demoralizing the other. The Church, it was clear, was made a vast State machine. The reaction from this wretched system was indifference.

It is thus that Mr. Alison describes the contest between the Crown and the parliament, on the subject of Jansenism, in which our readers will clearly see the seeds of Jacobinism.

"Orders were issued by the Archbishop of Paris to refuse the sacrament to those of the Jansenist persuasion. This was met by censures and persecutions from the parliament of Paris against those who obeyed these orders. The Crown issued a mandate to stay all such prosecutions; the parliament remonstrated, and the royal commands were renewed. The parliament retorted, by suspending all judicial business in these courts. The Crown issued a mandate enforcing the repeal of these restrictions of suspension, the parliament immediately attached the revenue of the Archbishop of Paris. An attempt was made to form new courts of justice instead of the parliament, but the letters patent constituting these new courts were not valid until registered in the inferior courts, and these courts, espousing the cause of the parliament, refused to record them. The nation was now roused; the provincial parliaments everywhere met and supported the parliament of Paris. The clergy who refused the sacraments were generally prosecuted. Thus, on the one hand, the holiest rites of religion were suspended, on the other hand, the most important legal courts were closed. The necessity of applying a remedy at length prevailed over the stubbornness of the Court," (the stubbornness of the court !) "the parliaments were recalled, and the archbishop was exiled."

And the Revolution was anticipated and in substance accomplished. From that hour the royal power passed away. The Church and Crown were equally creatures of the parliament, which absorbed the whole temporal and spiritual power of the realm. Forty years afterwards, when men were living who had shared in this struggle, those who destroyed the Church and the Throne, did but carry

out the consummation of what was really completed at the moment when the Church and Throne succumbed to the will of the heretical parliament of Paris. In a word, Jacobinism was only the result of Jansenism.

In plain truth, were not the members of the parliament of Paris, who held out in a rebellious contest with the Crown, until the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church was sacrificed, were they not Jacobins as well as Jansenists? What was Jacobinism but the assumption of supreme power for the so-called representatives of the people? What was it but political Jansenism? And of Jansenism, what was the essence but self-will and pride, stern and stubborn pride?

The Jansenists had not long attained their triumph ere they wreaked their vengeance on the Jesuits. Seven years after, in 1764, they procured a decree for the expulsion of their illustrious antagonists, and by what corrupt influences, and for what corrupt ends, the Protestant historian shall describe.

"The Jesuits became obnoxious to the most powerful interests in the court, from the incessant intrigues they kept up," (Jesuits must be at intrigues,) "and the disagreeable manner in which they interfered with the mistresses and council of Louis XV. Madame Pompadour and the Duc de Choiseul, the chief minister, united their strength to effect the destruction of a rival authority, and they were powerfully supported by the parliament of Paris, and the numerous body in France, both in and out of the Church, who belonged to the Jansenist party. Louis XV. long held out, but at length, when in his declining years, he became more devoted to sensual pleasures, and found that the Jesuits about the court might interfere with the orgies of the *Parc-aux-cerfs*,\* he yielded to the persecution which the parliaments had long carried on against this celebrated sect, and by a royal decree, in 1764, their order was entirely suppressed in France."

Never did consequence follow cause more plainly and more palpably than the Revolution the expulsion of the Jesuits. That was the proximate and immediate cause more than any other that could be assigned. Only a single generation interposed between the crime and its retracement.

\* The horrors of which the pen cannot depict, without a violation of decency. The torrents of blood which poured down the streets of Paris during the Revolution, were requisite to satiate the Divine vengeance.

bution. It was in 1764 that the Jesuits were finally expelled from France, by decrees of the parliaments. In 1794 the Revolution was consummated, and the Reign of Terror had now shed its oceans of blood. The boys who would have been trained under the Jesuits, had they remained in France, became the men who committed the atrocities of the Reign of Terror. The Jesuits had, ever since the foundation of their order, been the "salt of the earth," preserving every Catholic nation in which they lived from the social dissolution which the wide-spreading depravity and scepticism of the age was calculated to produce. Their influence on the youth of each generation mitigated the evil and averted the catastrophe. Once removed from the country the evil augmented with immense force, the vengeance advanced with rapid strides, and the catastrophe, ere the same generation had passed away, fell with terrific fury. Protestantism, or Jansenism, could not avert the progress of scepticism, or stop the spread of depravity. Forces far too weak were they to combat with such fearful foes, or rather they were of the "earth, earthy," and the weapons of such a warfare required to be spiritual, sharpened in an armoury, and welded with a power only to be found in the Catholic Church. Protestantism and Jansenism were reduceable to Rationalism, and myriads whose faith was shaken by the subtle sophistries of these heresies, passed into infidelity. The Crown was not likely to retain an allegiance which the Church had lost. From Rationalists they became Revolutionists. The Jesuits fell. The Jacobins arose.

There can be no question as to the corruption which existed in the Church of France, and it is equally clear what was the cause of it. Alison himself points out that the source of the corruption was the worldliness infused into it by the influence of the Crown and the aristocracy. Generally speaking, he says, the dignitaries of the Church were drawn from the same class as the marshals or princes of the empire. "While the bishops and elevated clergy were rolling in wealth, or glittering in the sunshine of royal favour, the humbler clergy toiled in virtuous obscurity." "The dubious class of abbés brought discredit on the Church, from the profligate lives which many of them led, and the general devotion of the body to worldly interests and enjoyments. The sceptical philosophers took

advantage of these abuses to influence the public mind against the Church."

Here the connection between Gallicanism, scepticism, and Jacobinism, is clearly shown. Whence came these "bishops glittering in the sunshine of royal favour?" Whence these dubious abbés? Came they from Rome or Paris? What laid the Church open to attack? Corruption. And what had caused the corruption? Worldliness. And whence came the worldliness? Had not Gallicanism chained the Church to the Court, and had not Jansenism clung to the parliaments? Had the Holy See retained its due control over the French Church, the "sceptical philosophers" would not have found her so easily open to attack. It was royal, not papal, influence, which had corrupted her. Though the Crown opposed Jansenism, it was in the spirit of Gallicanism, and both parliaments and sovereign acted on the principles of nationalism, at variance with Catholicism.

In discussing the cause of the French Revolution, Mr. Alison comes very near the truth when he alludes to the sceptical writers, who acquired so infamous and mischievous a celebrity in France in the eighteenth century. Nor does he wholly ignore the association between Jansenism and scepticism. "Louis XIV.," he observes, "made no attempt to curb the literary genius of his age, provided it did not interfere with political topics; and, in the mental strife which occurred before the Revolution, no more energetic speculation (he says) is to be found, than exists in the writings of Pascal." A very striking testimony this, and strongly confirmatory of our argument. "Religion and policy, however," he proceeds, "became the subjects of thought under the feeble successors of the Grande Monarque. In the philosophical speculations of the eighteenth century, in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and the Encyclopedists, the most free and unreserved discussion on morals and religion took place, instead of politics; and by a singular blindness the constituted authorities, despotic though they were, made no attempt to curb these enquiries, which being all couched in general terms, appeared to have no direct bearing on the tranquillity of the country." Just so, the rulers of France cared not about religion. It had been made too long an affair of state. Political matters were all they cared for. The temporal occupied their sole attention, and for the spiritual

their only object was to keep the Church passive and neither to be active themselves nor allow her to be so. "A direct attack on the monarchy, or still more on any of the ministers or royal mistresses, would have been followed by confinement in the Bastille, but general disquisitions excited no alarm. So universal was this delusion, that the young nobility amused themselves with visionary speculations concerning the original equality and pristine state of man." And equality and "rights of man" were ere long the watch-words of the Revolution. "The speculations of the eloquent philosophers spread widely among the rising generation." The Jesuits were gone, whose chief vocation was the education of youth, and who alone could have combatted these delusions, and counteracted the infection of these speculations. One illustration may serve as an example as to the state of education. Madame Roland we find, at the age of nine years, wept because she had not been born a Roman citizen, and carried "Plutarch's Lives" with her when she attended Mass. A merely nominal Christian, she wept that she had not been born a heathen! and, as we shall see, she died like a heathen. And this was after the Jesuits had been got rid of, and education had lost their powerful influence.

Who were the philosophers and writers of that age, who were now enthroned as instructors of the nation, instead of the Jesuits? There was Montesquieu, who had closed his career ten years before their expulsion, leaving as his legacy to France a work which is sufficiently described by the affected and inflated eulogy of the infidel Voltaire, "He rediscovered the titles of the human race;" or by its own fundamental principle, that the ruling principle of government in a republic was virtue. This was the cardinal principle in the sceptical speculations of Rousseau, and the sanguinary measures of Robespierre, whose great maxim was that the people were never wrong, and that he was the embodiment of their will. The explanation of all these speculations is simply their irreligion, the fact that they ignored the existence of sin, and the depravity of man, of which, as we shall see, they speedily tasted by experience after affording in their own persons the amplest evidence. Montesquieu, as he was a tutor of Robespierre, and a coadjutor of Rousseau, was a disciple of Pascal. When on his death-bed reproached with some of his sentiments, he took credit to himself for never having

written against religion, but declared that he would not yield anything to the Jesuits. These men had an infallible instinct which taught them that the Jesuits were their necessary enemies. And whence did this arise but from a consciousness of their own enmity to religion?

Voltaire was the eulogist of Montesquieu, and the admirer of Pascal. His influence extended over half a century of French history at this eventful era, a half century extending nearly thirty years after the death of Montesquieu, and nearly twenty after the expulsion of the Jesuits. His contemporary was Rousseau, whose ardent disciple was Robespierre. Here we have the genealogy of Jacobinism—Robespierre, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Pascal. From Jansenism to Rationalism—hardly more than a generation—the result, Revolution.

"The writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Diderot, Helvetius, and their successors, exercised an influence over the opinions of whole educated classes in France, of which no previous example had existed in the world. Almost the whole of the philosophical and literary writers in Paris, for a quarter of a century before the Revolution broke out, were avowed infidels; the grand object of all their efforts was to load religion with obloquy, or turn it into ridicule."

Would it have been so had the *Jesuits* been in France during that fatal quarter of a century? It was in 1764—just a quarter of a century before the Revolution—that the Jesuits were expelled from France. The Jesuits were the great directors of Catholic education, the "salt of the earth," which, in a corrupt age, preserved the moral soil of France from putrefaction. They were thrust out, and, exactly a quarter of a century afterwards, the disruption of society, and the destruction of the State and Church were brought about by the very generation of whom they would have had the training and the teaching had they remained in France. The boys of 1764 were the men of 1796; they ought to have been pupils of the Jesuits—they were pupils of infidels instead: the result was—Revolution. For nearly fifteen years before and after the expulsion of the Jesuits, Voltaire and Rousseau had unchecked influence in France: during all that terrible thirty years the apostles of infidelity were active, while the most active teachers of truth were first discouraged, then dispersed.

How could the end be otherwise than what it was ? France sowed the wind, and reaped the whirlwind.

It is a curious circumstance that out of the mouth of Robespierre we can describe and condemn the more immediate authors of the Revolution :

" The Encyclopedists contained some estimable characters, but a much greater number of ambitious rascals. Many of them became leading men in the State. Whoever does not study their influence and policy would form a most imperfect notion of our Revolution. It was they who introduced the frightful doctrine of atheism ; they were ever in politics, below the dignity of freedom. In morality they went as far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices. Their disciples declaimed against despotism, and received the pensions of despots ; they composed alternately tirades against kings, and madrigals for their mistresses ; they were fierce with their pens, and rampant in ante-chambers. That sect propagated with infinite care the principles of materialism, which spread so rapidly among the great and beaux esprits. We owe to them that selfish philosophy which reduced egotism to a system, regarded human society as a game of chance, where success was the sole distinction between what was just and unjust; probity an affair of taste and good breeding ; the world as the patrimony of the most dexterous of scoundrels.

" Among the great men of that period was one distinguished by the elevation of his soul, and the greatness of his character, who showed himself a worthy preceptor of the human race.\* He attacked tyranny with boldness ; he spoke with enthusiasm of the Deity. His masculine and upright eloquence drew in colours of fire the charms of virtue ; it defended the elevated doctrines which reason affords to console the human heart. The purity of his principles, his hatred of vice, his supreme contempt for intriguing sophists who usurped the names of philosophers, drew upon him the hatred and persecution of his rivals and his friends. Could he have witnessed our Revolution, of which he was the precursor, and which bore him to the Pantheon, can we doubt he would have embraced with transport the doctrine of justice and equality ?"

About the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, an anonymous letter was addressed to Louis XV., which, as Mr. Alison very truly says, could have been written by no common man. In it occurred this remarkable passage :

" Open war is carried on against religion. The Encyclopedists

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\* Rousseau, whose remains had shortly before been translated to the Pantheon.

under pretence of enlightening mankind, are sapping its foundations. *All the different kinds of liberty are connected*: the philosophers and the Protestants turn towards republicanism, as well as the Jansenists; the philosophers strike at the root, the others lop the branches; and their efforts will one day lay the tree low."

Fourteen years after, Turgot was minister, and Voltaire wrote:—

"The priests are in despair: we are at the commencement of a great Revolution; we are condemning in secret the fabric of the imposture founded seventeen hundred and seventy five years ago."

Voltaire rightly appreciated the apostate Abbé—disciple of Rousseau—precursor of Robespierre. Alison justly says of him:

"A believer in the perfectibility of the human mind when guided by the light of philosophy, he was leagued in secret with those who aimed at the overthrow of Christianity."

He had been, we have seen, a friend of the Jansenists before he became a follower of Rousseau, and a tutor for Robespierre. He had learnt at their feet the principle of rationalism; and now he was sowing the seeds of Revolution. His first measure was to recall the parliament of Paris, which had expelled the Jesuits. They re-assembled, to prepare for the subversion of the Church and of the Crown.

"In a general assembly of the Clergy, held in 1770, the most rigorous remonstrances," says Alison, "were made against the multiplication of irreligious books. This was just six years," he observed, "after the expulsion of the Jesuits, and when Voltaire was supreme in Paris."

"Impiety has passed from the capital to the provinces; it is found under the roof of the artisan and the cottage of the peasant; it misleads alike their ignorance and their simplicity. It is making inroads alike on God and man; *it will never be satisfied until it has destroyed every power, divine and human. Anarchy is the gulf into which irreligion will plunge the nation.* To accomplish that infernal object it breaks down by degrees all the bonds which attach man to his duties. It teaches that there is neither a Supreme Being, a soul, nor a world to come. It sees in the priesthood only a vile league against the human race. It teaches nations that kings have no power but such as it has pleased them to entrust their sovereigns with; that the people have a right to restrain it and even to extinguish it at their supreme pleasure. It is this spirit which has given rise to the endless multiplication of sects among the English, but it

is fitted to produce effects far more disastrous than among the French. There it will be found in the inconstancy of the nation, in its love of novelty, its activity, its inconsiderate ardour—an additional means of producing the most frightful Revolutions, and precipitating it into all the horrors of anarchy."

Never was a more remarkable prophecy put forth; and scarcely a quarter of a century afterwards, within a single generation, it was awfully verified! Of the clergy who then survived, such as escaped slaughter, had to seek refuge in exile, and doubtless many of those who concurred in the prediction, in their own persons lived to experience its terrible fulfilment.

An *incident* is often more illustrative of the conditions of an age or a country than anything else. In 1780, le grand officier de France and his brother were traversing the Rue St. Antoine of Paris in a coach and six. At that time a priest happened to be in the street—portant Dieu à un malade; the religious cortège had not time to get out of the way of the carriage; the priest was overturned and wounded; the seigneur laughed; the people were indignant; the carriage rolled away; and there was an end of the affair—an end of it *for the time*. But twelve years afterwards, a scaffold was erected in that very street, on which was poured an ocean of the purest and proudest blood in France. Does it not read like some of the retrIBUTIONS of Divine Vengeance narrated with stern brevity in the Holy Scriptures? The incident above alluded to speaks expressively of the contempt in which the court held the Church, which for centuries it had enslaved and degraded. We have seen what men were Louis XIV. and Louis XV. And what must have been the condition of a Church under their supreme patronage! We can conceive what it was, when we think of the Abbé Dubois.

Before coming to the great event which proved the direct cause of the Revolution—the convocation of the Tiers Etat—we must call particular attention to a very remarkable illustration and result of the influence of Gallicanism on the condition of the French Church at this epoch. Every one is aware that the disposition of the Church is to claim the best from all classes, and especially from the masses of the people, for her service; and that such is the tendency of her system when unshackled by the State, is shown by the state of the Church in the Ages of Faith, when Abbots, and Bishops, and Popes were frequently men of

the lowest extraction. The Church in France had now for three centuries been chiefly under the influence of the Crown ; and what had been the result in this respect ? Let Mr. Alison tell us :

"A large portion of the prelates—all persons of high birth and aristocratic connections—lived habitually in Paris, to the frequent neglect of their dioceses, and too often spent their time and fortunes in the dissipation of the capital. The prestige of their situations, the respect due to their sacred character, was thus weakened, and the aristocracy of the Church came to be considered as subject to the same weakness as the lay-nobility."

It is a curious instance of the onesidedness of Protestantism, that the historian, acute enough to see the mischief, never seeks to ascertain the cause ; and stops not to ask, "Who appointed these courtly prelates?"

"The dignities in the cathedrals and elevated offices in the hierarchy were also entirely in the hands of the aristocratic clergy, who were chiefly to be found in Paris, or the provincial capitals ; while the immense body of the curés or country clergy, toiled in obscure usefulness among their flocks, hardly distinguishable in fortune or education from the burghers and peasants by whom they were surrounded. This numerous class, the representatives of which composed three-fourths of the clergy in the States General, all sprung from the *Tiers Etat*, and had no sympathy of policy, and still less identity of interest with the high and dignified clergy. On the contrary, they considered them as their most bitter enemies, because, belonging to the same profession, they monopolized its duties and honours, without discharging the heaviest parts of its duties. The bishops had no influence over them, because their plebeian birth precluded their rising to any of the dignities of the Church."

It does not occur to the Protestant historian that possibly the aversion of the working clergy to their bishops might have arisen rather from the worldliness of the latter.

"It will appear in the sequel with what fatal consequences this preponderance of the plebeian clergy was attended on the opening of the States General. But the evil was inherent in the state of the Church as it was constituted in France, and would not have been remedied by keeping its representatives in a separate chamber from the *Tiers Etat*, for the numbers of the curés was so considerable, that it greatly preponderated over the representatives of all the noble clergy put together."

Thus the fatal separation of classes, which was the result of worldliness in the Church, as of irreligion in the nation, must have made the convocation of the States General a step perilous to the monarch, even had the treachery or fatuity of Necker not left it an open question, whether the three orders should sit and vote together or in separate chambers. The States General, as we have seen, were first convoked by the Crown against the Church. And now royalty was to suffer a fearful retribution, and was to receive its death-blow from those same states, mainly, (so far as proximate causes are concerned,) by reason of the effects of its non-influence upon the Church, and the estrangement between the upper and lower classes, as well of the clergy as of the laity.

It is not worth while entering into the political or financial circumstances, which were the direct causes of the convocation of the States General. Mr. Alison, with perfect truth, states that the policy of Turgot paved the way for the Revolution. And the thoroughly Protestant character of the abbé's mind is indicated by the edicts he passed, authorizing the sale of meat during Lent, and the omission from the oath of the clause against heresy. The character of his policy was powerfully described by a protest of the parliament of Paris, in these terms:—

"We are tempted to believe that there exists in the state a secret party who seek to overturn its foundations; our legislators make it their object to overturn everything. The experience of ages is treated by these new preceptors of the human race with an insulting contempt, which could spring from nothing but the reveries of a disturbed imagination, stimulated by the *enthusiasm of a false philosophy.*"

And the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVIII., wrote thus, in a memorial to the king, of which Mr. Alison speaks most highly.

"Turgot says to the French, 'For a thousand years you have had laws and usages, they are chimeras; become a new people, let the reason of the primitive age enlighten you.' The evil genius of France, in the shape of Anglo-mania, has got possession of the councils, and abused the nation, and its fatal influence *will precipitate a Revolution.*"

Turgot held office only a short time, in which he did nothing but mischief, and he was succeeded by Necker, a Protestant, a statesman of the same school, if not

of the same class, who mainly contributed, as Mr. Alison observes, to bring about the Revolution. Indeed, when he retired from office, the Revolution had begun. Is it possible to trace its origin more closely? Its parentage is plain, its pedigree undisputable; the offspring of Rationalism, the work of the Rationalists, who were disciples of the Jansenists.

The parliaments of Paris and the provinces, those hot-beds of Jansenism, had been dissolved by Louis XV., were recalled by Louis XVI., at the instigation of the false illuminists of the age, and forthwith became the seats and sources of Jacobinism. Led by the influence of Turgot, this fatal step was taken, and twenty years after the throne of France was subverted amidst a sea of blood. This man cared nothing for the Church and everything for the state; he would receive a royal edict with veneration, a papal brief with unconcern; but he was a Rationalist in religion, and in polities a Revolutionist. He was ready to rob the Church of her property, and have it administered under the control of the state, applying part of it to the purposes of education, in knowledge and morality, without any religious instruction. Of Necker we will only say, in the words of Mr. Alison, "he had a devout faith in human perfectibility, and an extravagant belief in popular virtue, which afterwards, by making him sacrifice everything to his love of popularity, brought unheard of disasters on the monarchy." The fact is, these men were pupils of Rousseau, and therefore precursors of Robespierre, whose great maxim was, that the people were never wrong.

Such were the men under whose auspices France was led to clamour for the convocation of the States General. Among those who raised the cry some of the most influential were ecclesiastics. The Archbishop of Artois, along with Crebillon, governor general of the parliament of Aix, took an active part in this agitation; and the Archbishop of Brienne, who was the successor of Necker, in the office of premier, gained his position by supporting the same cry. Here we see the old union between the parliaments and the worldly prelates; and in the case of Brienne it is the more observable, because even in that lorn age he had been for ten years previously repeatedly denounced for tampering with the discipline of the Church, which was not to be wondered at, as he had been the associate of

Condorcet and D'Alembert. This profligate prelate it was who first shadowed forth the fatal edict which Mr. Alison calls the death blow of the French monarchy, the edict which announced the convocation of the States General, and declared that the *Tiers Etat* should possess as many voices as the clergy and nobility put together. The edict was actually issued by Necker, whose title to be considered a disciple of Rousseau, and a master of Robespierre, can be shown by a single sentence of his own, expressing those absurd ideas of human nature, which both those apostles of deism advocated with such fatal effect, and which found in the Protestant minister a practical embodiment. "The *Tiers Etat* must ever be strangers to political passions. Their intelligence and goodness of disposition are a sufficient guarantee against all apprehensions as to excesses." What was this but the maxim which Robespierre borrowed from Rousseau, that the people can never be wrong? What is it but a denial of Revelation, and the revival of deism? The character of Necker, and the character of the age and country in which he was for a time so popular, because he embodied its character, can be depicted in a few lines of his celebrated daughter, Madame de Staél.

"Après ses devoirs religieux l'opinion publique étais ce que l'occupait le plus : il sacrifiait la fortune, les honneurs, tout ce que les ambitieux recherchent à l'estime de la nation : et cette voix du peuple alors non encore alterée avoit pour lui quelque chose de devin. Le moindre nuage sur sa réputation c'étais la plus grande souffrance que les choses de la vie pussent lui causer. Le but mondain de ses actions le vent de terre qui le faisait naviguer c'étais l'amour de la considération."\*

It is easy to see that the essence of this feeling both in Necker and in the nation, which so idolized him, because he entertained it, was that same spirit of pride which was the secret cause of Jansenism, and forms the latent principle of association between it and scepticism. It is the common cause of Protestantism, Gallicanism, and Rationalism, and was the great moving cause of all the unutterable horrors of the Revolution. It is as true of some of the chief actors in the Revolution as of many of its chief authors, that they had no vice but this, the evil spirit of

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\* De Staél, *Rev. Franc.* i. 94, 172.

pride, which led them to idolize human nature in general, and their own ideas in particular, and to reject all authority which claimed their obedience, and exacted the homage of their reason. This spirit had led the nation, as we have seen, to aid the Crown in rejecting the authority of the Holy See, and now it was about to lead the nation to revolt against the authority of the Crown. The spirit was identically the same in Richelieu or Rousseau, in Arnault or in Necker, or Robespierre, in Louis XIV. or Lafayette. This will be the more strikingly apparent when we remark that it was among the clergy, so long corrupted by secular influence, and so long accustomed to exalt nationalism above Catholicism, and to prefer the royal authority to the papal, that the chief danger to royalty now lay. Profligate prelates and unprincipled priests were among the most active promoters of the Revolution. The Abbé Sabatier first fixed the mind of the nation on the convocation of the States General, and the Abbé Sieyes was the first to excite the people in favour of the power of the *Tiers Etat*. These men played upon the feelings of the nation by pandering to its vanity, and the convocation of the States General was at once the expression and the retribution of Nationalism.

On the fatal 1st May, 1789, the great assembly was convened, on which France had fixed her hopes. Cursed are they who fix their hopes on man! That assembly almost to a man had placed their confidence in human legislation, rather than in the regenerative power of religion. It was convoked in a spirit utterly antagonistic to Catholicism. And when the bishop of Nancy, preaching in the Church of St. Louis, commenced in the usual formula, "Receive, O God, the homage of the clergy, the respects of the noblesse, and the humble supplications of the *Tiers Etat*," the murmurs which arose sounded as the knell of the Church of France. "Two ladies," says Mr. Alison, "viewed the splendid spectacle from a gallery, one was Madame de Montmorin, the other the illustrious daughter of Necker, Madame de Staél. The latter exulted in the boundless felicity which seemed to be opening under the auspices of her father. 'You are wrong,' said Madame de Montmorin, 'this event forebodes miseries to France and to ourselves.'" Fearful prognostic, too fatally fulfilled. Her tragic story is but a specimen of myriads similar. She herself perished on the scaffold with

one of her sons, her husband was massacred in prison, one of her daughters was slaughtered in gaol, and another died of horror and sorrow.

It is scarcely necessary to recount the sad and shameful narrative of the States General, until it merged in the National Assembly, and the Revolution was commenced, or, perhaps one might say, consummated. Hardly more than a month elapsed, a "little mouth." The progress of the Revolution was rapid, for its promoters were reckless. Mirabeau, now its most eloquent orator, Alison thus pourtrays:—"Impetuous in passion, unbridled in desire, miserable in temper, vain, yet proud, alike without shame and without remorse."

The portrait, with more or less of immaterial variation, merely arising from the different degrees in which the one of these passions or the other preponderated in their character, will do for the rest of them. Of one feature they all partook, inordinate vanity, or over-weening pride. Such were the elements and moving causes of the Revolution. No marvel that the course was rapid. In all the incidents of its rise and progress one sees the vanity which was of the essence of Rationalism and deism. Thus when the majority of the clergy seceded from their order, and united with the *Tiers Etat*, the first great downward step, it is obvious that the moving motive was vanity. When the first curés appeared at the bar of the *Tiers Etat*, their own account of their conduct reveals this feeling. "May it secure for us the esteem of all good Frenchmen!" They had their reward in the thunders of applause which greeted them. But the Jacobins were already organized, and in a few months the clergy were proscribed, and thousands of them expiated by their death the encouragement they had given to the Revolution. The secession of the clergy stimulated the *Tiers Etat* to declare itself the National Assembly, and the Revolution was in principle consummated, in act commenced. Nationalism was triumphant, and royalty in reality was no more. The monarchy of France had been for two centuries rebellious to the Chair of St. Peter, and now was to reap, in a bloody Revolution, the bitter retribution for its infidelity to the only power which could uphold it in the hearts of the nation. Blood was soon shed, and it was a curious circumstance that the revolts which destroyed the dynasty of the Bourbons,

began by an assault upon an arsenal, in which the sword of Henry IV. was among the the spoils of the mob.

The declaration of the Rights of Man was the theory of the Revolution, and it was essentially deistical, ignoring the duties which religion prescribes, and the embodiment of that human vanity, which now found universal expression in the wild cry of equality ; the clamour of equality arising from the impatience of obedience, and loss of the spirit of reverence, which had been the root of Protestantism, the spirit of Gallicanism, and the essence of Jansenism was the war cry of Jacobinism. What was it in the mouths of the raving mobs of the Revolution but the same in principle, in the language of Gallican prelates towards the Holy See, or Jansenistical writers towards the Church ? “ Are we not all *equal* ? ” “ We will not have this man to reign over us,” was the burden of the cry, whether uttered against the papacy by Louis XIV., or against royalty under Louis XVI. The “ Rights of Man ” was but the development of the Rights of Nationalism, and the French nation only followed in the footsteps of the French Church. The Church and the Crown had been impatient of the Pope’s sovereignty, and the nation revolted from theirs. In three months’ time the payment of annats to the court of Rome announced an approaching destruction of the Church, and Mirabeau supported the abolition of tithes, and the payment of the clergy by state salaries. This was only the development of Gallicanism. The clergy speedily received their retribution for their sacrifice of duty to Nationalism. The first fruits of the Revolution was the spoliation of the Church. And the spirit of Nationalism led the Church to submit to it.

The archbishops of Paris and of Aix, in the presence of the Assembly, signed an unqualified renunciation of their benefices, and many of the bishops followed their example. They received their reward in tumults of popular applause, and in a few months fell victims to popular fury. It seems almost incredible how deep-rooted was that reliance on popular virtue, which was the result of the national vanity and the idolization of Nationalism. It amounted to absolute infatuation. Miserable nation ! which had so long distrusted the Holy See, and now was doomed to fall a bloody sacrifice to the most inordinate confidence in themselves ! The archbishop of Paris, M. de Zuigne, exclaimed, “ We surrender the tithes into the hands of a just

and generous nation. Let the Gospel be preached, let the divine worship be celebrated with dignity and decency ; let the Churches be provided with virtuous and zealous pastors ; let the poor be succoured ; these are the objects to which we devote our tithes.” “Such,” said the Cardinal de Rochefoucault, “is the wish of the clergy, and they put their trust in the magnanimity of the nation.” Better had they put their trust in the wisdom of the Holy See. But the French Church had long lost the habit of having recourse to the councils of the successors of St. Peter. It never occurred to the prelates of France to ask of the Holy See whether they were justified in surrendering the property of the Church to a convention of rationalists, illuminists, and deists, and becoming, with their clergy, the paid servants of an irreligious and rebellious body. They preferred the policy of expediency, which had long been the bane, and was now the ruin of the monarchy. The spirit in which they surrendered the Church to the people was just the same as that in which their Gallican predecessors had surrendered it to the Crown. Intoxicated by the vanity of the nation and the age, they preferred the applause of the mob to the dictates of conscience, and the requisition of obedience. Instead of standing up to arrest the progress of the Revolution, they precipitated it by their subserviency; they did but accelerate the fate they perhaps imagined they averted ; they perished in the paroxysms of the Revolution, they might have been the martyrs, they preferred a course which made them merely its victims. Even the monarch, weak-minded as he was, saw the fatal fallacy of the course they were taking, and wrote thus to the Archbishop of Aix :—

“Je ne consentirai jamais à dépouiller mon clergé : je ne donnerai pas ma sanction à des décrets qui les dépouilleraient. M. l'Archevêque vous vous soumettez aux décrets de la Providence. Je crois me soumettre en ne me livrant à cet enthousiasme qui s'est emparé de tous les ordres, mais qui ne fait que glisser sur mon ame.”

In the debates of the Assembly on the subject of the Church, they soon came down to deism, and in language which showed it the development of Jansenism. “A worship,” said Roland de St. Etienne, “is a dogma, a dogma depends on an opinion, an opinion on free-will. You attack freedom if you constrain a man to adopt a worship other than what he inclines to.” In another month all the

property of the Church was confiscated, and the clergy were declared public servants. In a few more months the Assembly assumed the entire interior reorganization of the Church, on the failure of the state, the bishoprics being reduced to the same number of the departments, and the clergy and bishops declared elective by the people. It is instructive to read the Protestant historian's comment on this. "The Church, purified of its corruptions, might still have maintained its respectability, had no spoliation of its possessions taken place." Here is to be seen the secret sympathy between Gallicanism and Protestantism, Jacobinism and Erastianism. The Church may be degraded into a mere creature of the state, but must not be despoiled.

The cathedrals and chapters were now suppressed, and Robespierre thus supported the reduction of the Church to bishops and parochial clergy :

"Premier principe : toutes les fonctions publiques sont d'institution sociale : elles ont pour but l'ordre et le bonheur de la société : ils disent qu'il ne peut exister dans la société aucune fonction qui ne soit utile. Devant cette maxime disparaissaient les bénéfices et les établissements sans objet, les cathédrales, les collégiales, les curés, et les archevêques, que ne demandent pas les besoins publiques. Seconde principe : les officiers ecclésiastiques étant institués pour le bonheur des hommes et pour le bien du peuple, il s'ensuit que le peuple doit les nommer. Il est de principe qu'il doit conserver tous les droits qu'il peut exercer : or le peuple peut être ses pasteurs comme les magistrats et autres officiers publics. Troisième principe : les officiers publics étant établis pour le bien de la société il semble que la mesure de leur traitement doit être subordonné à l'intérêt et à l'utilité générale et non au désir de gratifier et d'enrichir ceux qui doivent exercer ces fonctions."

What was all this but the development of the insolent spirit of Gallicanism, ignoring altogether the supremacy of the Holy See, and the hypocritical spirit of Jansenism, affecting an austerity, the mask for aversion to authority, and the application to things spiritual, of a principle of false and sordid economy. The secret sympathy between all this and Protestantism is apparent. What was it but the development of the doctrine of the Reformation ? The only difference is that which was done in one case by royal, was done in the other by popular power. In imposing on the clergy of France an oath to the constitution, what are the Revolutionists to do but follow the example of the

Crown in England and France, when it established in one avowedly, and the other partially, the royal supremacy in place of the papal? They only substituted the tyranny of the people for that of the Prince.

We will here enrich our narration by a brief but vivid sketch of the progress of the Revolution, so far as it affected conventional establishments, borrowed from our able contemporary, the *Rambler*, in one of those articles which form such valuable contributions to the Catholic view of history.\*

"On the 12th February, 1790, religious vows were abolished in France, and all convents and monastic orders suppressed, by a decree of the Constituent Assembly. This was one of the first blows levelled against religion, and almost the first step openly taken upon that declivity at whose foot lay the abyss of infidelity, of blasphemy, and of sacrilege. The originators of this and similar propositions do not seem to have been aware of the full consequences of the acts which they were perpetrating; and some of them, at least, would have shrunk back with horror could they have foreseen the results of the policy which they were blindly advocating. They believed themselves to be engaged in the task of reforming the Church of France; and their efforts were directed to the same objects which have in all ages excited the zeal of the so-called religious reformers. After having introduced a principle of uniformity into the administration of justice and the civil constitution of the country, they thought that nothing was more natural than to proceed 'to secularize religion, and to constitute it on the same plan with the other branches of the public service.'† These alterations, as they were called, which may have appeared to some of their advocates to have been of a merely superficial and unimportant character, while in reality they struck at the root of all religion, were not proposed by the fiercest and most forward of the revolutionary party. Camus and other Jansenists, who are numbered by M. Thiers amongst the most pious of the deputies, were the authors of what was called the civil institution of the clergy.

"It was Treilhard, a lawyer, and the advocate of the clergy, also a Jansenist, who, after having, on the 17th December, in the following year, proposed the dissolution of religious corporations, and the payment of their members by a state salary, proposed on the 12th February, the decree to which we have called the attention of our readers. Finally, it was on the motion of Barnave, a Protestant, that on the next day but one permission was given to all the reli-

\* See the *Rambler* for May, which appeared after these pages were composed. Another has since appeared, from which we cannot extract.

† Thiers, *Histoire de la Revolution*, vol. i., chap. 5.

gious orders of both sexes to leave the cloister, and to secularise themselves.

"It is a curious and interesting subject of speculation, to trace the similarity of the process by which the enemies of the Church invariably arrive at their conclusions, however those conclusions may differ among themselves. There is no subject upon which Protestants are fonder of descanting than on the French Revolution; and they imagine that they are using an unanswerable argument against the Catholic religion when they point out at what they are pleased to call a whole nation of Catholics giving themselves up to infidelity, and leaving the worship of the true God for the service of the goddess of reason. They would, however, be surprised, were it pointed out to them, as it easily might be, that the origin of the movement was precisely the same as of that they regard as the charter of their religious liberties; that the tendency of their own principles was in the same direction; and that it is to be attributed to accidental circumstances of time and place, that the Anglican Reformation in the sixteenth century had not the same results as the French Reformation of 1790. More than this, the apparent success of their English forerunners had, we doubt not, a large share in exciting the weak and mischievous charlatans who commenced the attack upon the Church in France, to follow their example."

Our readers will perceive at once what a powerful illustration this episode in the history of the great tragedy affords for our arguments as to its origin, and the elements out of which it arose.

The same spirit which impelled Philip le Bel to impose upon the Church of France the canons of the council of Basle, or Louis XI. to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, led the national assembly to insist on the French clergy taking an oath to the new constitution of Church and State. The remarks of Mr. Alison here are creditable to his sense of candour:

"Inflamed with resentment, the Assembly at length fixed a day for the adherence of all the clergy in France, and upon its expiring, the decree of forfeiture was universally and regularly enforced. In this extremity, and when the adherence of the clergy to their oath, or the sacrifices of their benefices" (it should be *salaries*, for the *benefices* had already been confiscated) "was unavoidable, the clergy, dignified and ordinary, of France, evinced a disinterested spirit and grandeur of character worthy of the illustrious Church to which they belonged, and which almost makes us forget the previous corruptions which had been instrumental in producing the Revolution. The Pope had refused his sanction to the civil constitution of the clergy, as established by the Assembly, and had written to two of the bishops to that effect; and in addition to this, a consis-

tory had been held of the whole bishops in France, by whom it was unanimously agreed, one archbishop and four bishops only dissenting, that they would not take the oath to be faithful to the constitution, as it vested the whole nomination of the priests and bishops in a simple numerical majority of the several parishes or dioceses, to the entire exclusion of the appointment or control of the Church. It had become a matter of conscience with the clergy to refuse the oath."

Of the five prelates who sacrificed their consciences, one was the infamous Talleyrand, and another was the archbishop of Ars, whom we have seen so ready to surrender the property of his see for the sake of expediency; the same policy led him now to renounce the authority of the Holy See. But the majority of the French clergy now saw whence those principles came which they had so long encouraged, and whither they tended; and they resolved (alas! too late except for their character) to yield no further: only one curé took the constitutional oath in Paris. "So fell the Church of Rome," says Mr. Alison, "and never, certainly, did it more worthily evince the divine spirit of its faith." The same heroism a little earlier would have preserved France from the Revolution, and gained them the honour of being the saviours as well as the martyrs of their country. As it was, they were now marked out for massacre; and wherever there was found a priest there was a victim if not a martyr.

The course taken by the National Assembly with respect to the Church was the chief direct cause of the atrocities of the Revolution; in that way—that it aroused the resistance which provoked them. The prelates and priests who were expelled for refusing the oath to the new constitution, awakened the sympathy of a large portion of the nation by their heroism, and stimulated it by their sufferings and their appeals. The bishops, who remained faithful to the Holy See, denounced the constitutional clergy as irregular; and their administration of the sacraments as invalid and impious; the result was the revolt of La Vendée, and a wide spread spirit of disaffection and opposition to the progress of the Revolution. This exasperated its promoters, and led to its worst horrors and most remorseless massacres. The National Assembly and the Girondist Ministry demanded a decree of exile against the non-juring clergy: the king, who had weakly assented to the imposition of the unconstitutional oath, now too late saw its unlawful-

ness, and with tenacity, which, by its being so tardy, was as mischievous as his former facility, refused to sanction the decree which was designed to enforce it. Here we see the evil of expediency. Had the king acted at the outset firmly upon principle, he would have escaped the dilemma in which he now found himself—of agreeing to enforce a measure he felt to be impious, or exposing to popular vengeance thousands of the best of his subjects. The alternative was dreadful: he adhered to his opposition; the consequence was that the Girondist ministers resigned; the king was thrown into the hands of the Jacobins; and the nation was speedily a scene of slaughter and proscription. What was this but the development of Gallicanism, which, like Jansenism, leant on the power of this world to make the Church subservient to the Crown and parliament? It was the Gallicanism of the *people*; if the sovereign had sought to make his will the law of the Church, why had not the nation a right to impose theirs? The kings of France had taught them the lesson, and they “bettered the example.”

The massacres at the abbaye in September, 1792, were commenced by the slaughter of twenty-four priests, who refused to take the new constitutional oath. Similar tragedies took place in all the other parts of Paris, and in the religious houses, which were filled with victims. In the prison of the Carmes, says the historian, above two hundred of the clergy were assembled: in the midst of them was the archbishop of Arles, venerable for his years and his virtues, with several other prelates. Some, when the assassins approached, endeavoured to escape by flying into the garden, and climbing up the trees; they were all shot or pierced with pikes in a few minutes. Thirty, with the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Beauvois, and saints in the spirit of the martyrs of old, repaired with steady steps to a little chapel at the end of the garden. Arranged around the altar, they heard the cries of the assassins, who clamoured at the gates; a few, yielding to the dictates of terror, had escaped, and were beyond the reach of danger, when, struck with shame at deserting their brethren in such an extremity, they returned, and shared their fate. The archbishop repeated, while the murders were going on, the prayers for those in the agonies of death, and they expired, imploring forgiveness for their murderers. Many were offered their life on condition

of taking the Revolutionary oath ; all refused, and died in the faith of their fathers. Similar massacres took place at Lyons, Rheims, and other cities. At the latter place, the Abbé de Lescar and eleven curés who had refused to take the oaths were massacred with refined cruelty. The next day the mob declared that they would burn the priests alive who did not take the oath ; and for this purpose they erected a huge pile in the principal square ; and two priests were brought to it, and, on refusing to take the oath, were thrown alive into the flames.

The foul spirit of irreligion was aroused into a ferocious frenzy like that of the demoniacs at the sight of our Saviour ; but this was only the result and retribution of its more insidious working in the national mind of France for generations. It had been born in lust, and was satiated in blood : the people of France had first lost their morality, and then their faith, and then, possessed by a legion of devils, which their depravity had summoned, burst forth into all the fury of remorseless ferocity. As the tree so was the fruit. Can any doubt the tree who sees such fruit ? The Revolution was the consummation of a revolt from authority, which began in Gallicanism and ended in Jacobinism.

We do not think attention has been sufficiently called to the fact, that the chief atrocities of the Reign of Terror were caused by the Gallicanism of Republicanism, the imposition of the constitutional oath on the clergy. Mr. Alison describes with great force and eloquence the sublime struggle of the people of La Vendée on behalf of their ancient faith. They were first aroused into resentment by the expulsion of their pastors, who refused to take the revolutionary oaths. They ceased to attend the Churches where the intruding clergy were installed, and assembled with zeal in the woods and solitudes, where the expelled clergy still taught their faithful and weeping flocks. Religious enthusiasm took possession of their minds. " Lay down your arms," exclaimed a number of republican horsemen to a peasant who only defended himself with a fork. " Restore me first my God," replied he, and fell pierced by two-and-twenty wounds. This is a specimen of their spirit, and it is scarcely necessary, for under the influence of the Catholic faith they had enjoyed as perfect happiness as ever was experienced on earth. " They were," says the Protestant historian, " gentle, pious,

charitable, and hospitable, full of courage and energy, with pure feeling and uncorrupted manners. Rarely was a crime, seldom a law-suit, heard of among them." Touching and triumphant testimony to the influence of Catholicism ! sad and striking contrast to the revolting effects of Rationalism ! One would almost imagine the providence of God had designed to display, for the instruction of the world, the portraitures of faith and infidelity, in the most marked contrast and antagonism. Such, at least, is the result in reading the thrilling story of the most noble but melancholy struggle which has immortalized the name of La Vendée, shedding eternal glory on religion, and never-dying infamy on the Revolution. It suffices of itself to show that the Revolution was of diabolical origin, and arose from irreligion, that this pure and uncorrupted people should have been driven to a death-struggle with it, and that their opposition to it could only be subdued by extirpation. The annals of humanity afford nothing more moving than the history of that terrible struggle which they had to endure, alas ! so unsuccessfully, though so heroically, with the powers of darkness, on behalf of their holy religion, against which the spirit of the Revolution felt an instinctive antagonism and an unap-pesable hate. Human nature was never exhibited under so heroic an aspect. If Paraguay displayed in perfection the influence of the Catholic religion in the milder forms of social happiness and domestic peace, La Vendée added to the picture more touching and thrilling traits of exalted self-sacrifice and enthusiastic devotion. At the first contest, in which the people were victorious, the historian records, "that in the line of retreat the republican forces followed, was placed a representation of our Saviour on Mount Calvary, and this arrested the progress of the victors, for all the peasants as they passed the holy spot fell on their knees before the images, and addressed a prayer with uplifted hands, before they resumed the pursuit; this continued under a severe fire; the peasants threw themselves on their knees within twenty-five paces of the post occupied by the enemy, and bared their bosoms to the fatal fire, as if coveting death in so holy a cause." We challenge the world to find in all its annals anything comparable to this in moral grandeur ! "When they made themselves masters of the town, instead of indulging in excess or pillage, they flocked in crowds to the Churches

to return thanks to God, and contented themselves with the provisions which were voluntarily brought to them by the inhabitants. Everywhere the insurrection bore the same character; the indignities offered to the clergy were its exciting cause, and a mixture of courage and devotion its peculiar characteristic." An incident is often more eloquent than an essay or even a history. Two soldiers happened to quarrel, and weapons were drawn; the commander exclaimed from a window, "Jesus Christ pardoned His murderers, and a Christian soldier is about to kill a comrade!" The men abashed put up their weapons and embraced. When a town was carried by assault, in which horrible massacres had been perpetrated upon the royalists, there were no retaliations, a few hostages were retained, and the rest of the republicans dismissed to their homes. Yet the convention had passed a savage decree, ordering that every insurgent taken in arms should be shot without mercy. What an impressive contrast! When Carrière was inflicting republican retaliations, a hundred priests were doomed at a time, and the slaughters were so numerous as to create a pestilence. This was not until after a contest so protracted and severe, as showed that religious enthusiasm in a single province was nearly a match for all the forces of an empire. Had the Church throughout France retained the hold on the people as she had on La Vendée, the Revolution never could have occurred.

The leaders of the Revolutionary atrocities were certainly disciples of Jansenism and Rationalism. Take the case of Fouchet. His young mind was formed by the "*Pensées de Pascal*" and the "*Essais de Nicolle*." Such the seed, what was the fruit? "He signalized himself," says the historian, "equally by his atheism, his rapacity, and his cruelty." "Tears of joy flow from my eyes," wrote the wretch on one occasion, "we send this day two hundred rebels to be shot;" the "rebels" being heroic defenders of law and liberty, against the atrocious tyranny of their atheistic oppressors. He was the associate of the hideous Collot d'Herbois in subduing Lyons by fire and slaughter, after its heroic resistance to the Revolutionists.

"The Churches were closed, the priests abolished, and every vestige of religion extinguished. Fouché instituted an impious *fête* in honour of Chaber, the republican governor of Lyons, a man of most execrable character, who had been put to death for inu-

merable crimes. The bust of Chaber was carried through the streets followed by an immense crowd of assassins and prostitutes. After them came an ass, bearing the cross, the Gospel, the communion vases, and all the most sacred emblems of Christian worship ; the procession came to a place where an altar was erected, and Fouché exclaimed, ‘We swear before thy sacred image to avenge thy death !’ At the same time a fire was lighted on the altar, and the crucifix and Gospel were committed to the flames ; *the consecrated bread, (we are quoting Mr. Alison,) was trampled under the feet of the mob, and the ass compelled to drink out of the communion cup the consecrated wine.*”

Such the fruits of “Les Pensées de Pascal.

The iniquities perpetrated at Lyons were repeated in Paris. The leaders of the municipality publicly expressed their determination to “dethrone the King of Heaven !” Gobel the Apostate constitutional Bishop of Paris, appeared at the bar of the Convention, accompanied by some of the clergy of his diocese, and there abjured the Christian faith. The base prelate (as even Mr. Alison most justly calls him) was shameless enough to declare that the only religion required was that of liberty, equality, and morality. Many of the constitutional bishops and clergy in the Convention joined in this impiety. Prostitutes, not more shameless than themselves, appeared at its bar, “trampling under foot the sacred vases consecrated for ages to the holiest purposes of religion.” The municipality shortly after publicly abjured the Christian religion. The images of our Lord and of the B. Virgin were thrown down, and the busts of vile revolutionary wretches elevated in their places. During several weeks daily abjurations by the constitutional clergy took place at the bar of the Convention. This requires no comment. The fact speaks for itself as to the character of a “constitutional” clergy. Among others, Sieyes appeared and abjured like the rest. “I know no other worship,” said the shameless ecclesiastic, “but that of liberty.” This was quite true. Liberty to *self* : the licence of unbridled passions was the secret of the Revolution, and the cause of its hatred to religion. Soon the celebrated prophecy of Father Beau-régard was realized. “Beauty without modesty was seen usurping the place of the Holy of Holies.” A monster was now enthroned on the high altar of Notre Dame as the Goddess of Reason, the existence of God was solemnly denied, and atheism was established amidst abominations

of lust. The perpetrators of these atrocities bore a testimony unconsciously to the truth they blasphemed. The impotence of Reason to control human passions was significantly symbolized in the very act of her enthronement, and the eternal union and essential association of pride and impurity, of intellectual exaltation and moral degradation was emphatically and terribly exhibited.

"The services of religion," writes Mr. Alison, "were now universally abandoned. The pulpits were deserted throughout all the revolutionized districts; baptisms ceased; the burial service was no longer heard; the sick received no communion, the dying no consolation. A heavier anathema than that of Papal power now pressed upon the peopled realm of France; the anathema of Heaven inflicted by the madness of her own inhabitants." Indeed, the words of the Protestant historian were, alas! too true, in a sense in which he never meant them. "A heavier anathema than that of Papal power," which only inflicted deprivation, whereas this inflicted destruction, of the blessings of religion!—"the anathema of Heaven on the madness of her inhabitants." Why had the anathema of Heaven fallen on them? What was the madness which had provoked it? Rebellion, long and deeply-rooted, to that Papal power, had been the real though remote cause of this terrible retribution. Ages had elapsed ere the "anathema of Papal power" had fallen on that realm of France. Alas! it had lost its terror, and the dread of it had for generations ceased to exert its salutary power. Well would it have been for millions of unbaptized, and millions baptized in their own blood, had the "anathema of Papal power" crushed the snake of Jansenism ere it had spread its subtle poison through the nation, which at last resulted in the infection of Rationalism, of which the fatal point was the horrible Revolution. Happy had it been for France had the anathema of Papal power proved as powerful as the influence of Royal power, and averted the corruption of the Church; then the madness of her inhabitants would have been prevented, and its awful chastisement, in the ruin of her Church and Crown amidst a deluge of blood, would never have occurred.

A more vivid idea can be obtained of the spirit of an age by looking at individual characters, than contemplating the general character of the whole community. Thus among the best, that is to say, the least vicious and most

sincere of the promoters of the Revolution, was that remarkable woman, Madame Roland. Her story is a sad commentary on the spirit of Rationalism. From the very first, we are informed by the Protestant historian, "she evinced a decided and energetic character, refused to embrace dogmas which did not convince her reason, and hence became sceptical on many points of the Romish faith, in which she had been brought up." The historian evidently approves of the process, however he may lament the result, which he no doubt ascribes to accident. He observes, with complacency: "She never became irreligious, and retained to the close of life a devout sense of an all-powerful Creator and of the fundamental principles of Christianity." He goes on to describe the effect: "Her ardent mind, deeply imbued with liberal principles, reverted at first with enthusiasm to the brilliant pictures of antiquity contained in the ancient writers. She wept that she had not been born a Greek or Roman citizen, and carried Plutarch's Lives instead of her prayer-book to Mass. Here we see the fruit of 'the fundamental principles of Christianity,' and of rejecting all dogmas which do not convince the reason." We have a Protestant lady (for Protestant in principle she was) weeping that she had not been born and bred a Pagan, so little sensible was she of the value "of the fundamental principles of Christianity," which she evidently deemed no better than Paganism; in which estimate of their value we conceive she was right, inasmuch as when carefully sifted and purged of all dogma, they come down to pure deism, and her own history proves it. "Religious ardour" (of a Jansenist character) "soon took possession of her mind, and she entreated her mother to be allowed to take the veil. Though this was not acceded to by her mother, she entered the convent as pensionary, and *returned* from it, with a mind enlarged and a heart softened." So the Protestant historian assures us, but leaves it doubtful whether it was to the entering into the convent or the returning from it, that he ascribes "the mind enlarged and heart softened." He is less dubious, however, as to the result. "The elevated reasoning of Bossuet first arrested her attention and aroused her reason; and the eloquence of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* soon after captivated her imagination." Ah! and the imagination proved far more potent than the reason in the case of poor Madame Roland, as in unnumbered millions more. Of her imagina-

tion, under the influence of the eloquence of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and the fundamental principles of Christianity, Mr. Alison enables us to form an idea, by introducing us to her Memoirs, in which she alludes to *les besoins d'une physique bien organisée*, in a way which Sir W. Scott justly says is characterized by the indecency of a courtesan. But let the Protestant historian proceed with her portraiture. "Indefatigable in study, ardent in pursuit, she devoured alternately books on theology, philosophy, oratory, poetry, and romance, and became successively a Cartesian, a Jansenist, and a Stoic." Here is the secret sympathy between Rationalism, Jansenism, and Jacobinism. Madame Roland was for a time the life and soul of the Jacobins,—and ultimately became one of their victims. She died as she had lived, like a Pagan, uttering the memorable exclamation: "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband committed suicide, not, as he declared, from fear, but from despair and disgust for human nature.

Nothing is more remarkable than the unconscious evidence which the main actors in the frenzies of the Revolution bore to the fatal fallacy upon which it was founded,—ignoring the depravity of man. When Dauton was arrested he exclaimed: "At last I perceive that in revolutions the supreme power finally rests with the most abandoned." Camille Desmonlins, while in prison awaiting execution, wrote to his wife in these memorable words: "I had hoped to have founded a republic which all the world would have adored. I could not have believed that men were so ferocious and unjust." "I knew well the great," said Alfieri, after witnessing in Paris the fearful 10th of August, "but I did not know the little." Even Mr. Alison is struck with the obvious fact, that the prevailing delusion as to the virtue of human nature, and the perfectibility of society, were the root of all the awful errors and evils which arose. Robespierre proclaimed, and very likely was convinced, that the people could never be wrong. Terrible mistake, which the leaders of the Revolution first exemplified and then expiated. From the earliest to the latest they perished, victims to these foolish views of human virtue; and the great lesson they illustrate is, that there can be no security for virtue or liberty but in *religion*. They followed a chimera of their own deluded minds through oceans of blood. Truly does the historian say:

"Politicians have no right after this to reproach *religious* enthusiasm." Deism has had its fanaticism and its frenzy.

The Reign of Terror was an horrible illustration of the tyranny of the human passions emancipated from authority, even a passion so apparently venial as vanity. In a little more than five weeks the Revolutionary tribunal in Paris had sentenced nearly 1300 persons to death,—all, be it observed, without the pretence of any offence, and without the farce of a trial. Yet, when the heads were falling at the rate of sixty or seventy a day, the Jacobin leaders required more slaughters, to inspire their opponents with greater terror. This was indeed nothing to the horrors perpetrated in the provinces. At one time and place nine thousand persons were destroyed. And among the papers of Robespierre was found a plan for cutting off the whole of the middle classes, and for that purpose arming against them the lower. This was all for the mere purpose of preserving his own power,—a power avowedly only to be upheld by terror. Never was it made more terribly manifest how remorseless are the human passions, even a passion so apparently innocuous as that of vanity. Perhaps, after all, this is the great lesson of the Revolution. It is beyond a doubt that Robespierre's ruling passion was merely vanity. He imagined himself necessary to the nation, and the maintenance of his own power, at any sacrifice of life, essential for the public welfare. Horrible as were his slaughters, they proceeded simply from the idolization of self. He was a remorseless embodiment of egotism. He had none of the coarser passions, neither lust, nor avarice, nor, for its own sake, love of blood. He was disgusted with his associates, who showed that they loved slaughter for its own sake. He really resorted to it from an idea of its necessity, arising from the overweening, all-engrossing, overwhelming egotism of his character, which led him to fancy that his wisdom was the one thing needful for France. What cruelty can be caused by vanity a single incident will illustrate. One day there dined at his table a beautiful woman, Madame St. Amaranthe. She happened to drop an expression of regret at the number of executions. Two days had not elapsed before she and her mother were executed! She had wounded the vanity of the tyrant, and her beauty did not save her. Yet of Robespierre, like Madame Roland, it might be said, and is in effect said by the Protestant historian, that he never lost his respect for

"the fundamental principles of Christianity." While about to recommence a series of proscriptions which was on the point of terminating in his own destruction, Robespierre delivered another oration, which the Protestant historian terms "eloquent and powerful," in which he spoke flatteringly of the "Author of Nature," who had bound together all mortals by the claims of love. Carefully examined, these elements of this monster's character were very much the same as those of Louis XIV., Napoleon, or any other relentless despot. The character is one which in an individual is called egotism, and in a people rationalism; that absorption in self, that idolization of the will, which amounts to practical atheism, and only developed, leads to professed deism. What is this but the development of the very principles which led to Gallicanism and Jansenism? The atrocities of the Reign of Terror arose originally from the exasperation of Jacobin despotism at the resistance of the clergy to their will. What was that but the spirit of Louis XIV. and of Philip le Bel? What was it but the spirit of Napoleon? We have seen in what way Richelieu and Robespierre dealt with the Church; we shall now see how Napoleon acted towards it, who supplanted the Bourbons, and how the Bourbons when they were restored.

We must not lose sight of the connection of Jansenism with Jacobinism. We quite agree with Father Dalgairns, that "to judge of Jansenism we must follow it to its closing scene,—the French Revolution, and see a Jansenist, the comrade of Robespierre, holding a schismatical council in Paris, while the legitimate pastors of France were dying in the prisons or on the scaffold for the love of Christ." Here its hidden spirit and real nature were made manifest,—ready to resort to any agency, however vile, and to conform to any system, however sanguinary or sordid, to escape the necessity of submission to the authority of the Holy See, and to satiate the self-willed passions of its "stony hard heart."

Most cordially will the Catholic reader concur with Father Dalgairns, when he says:

"All honour be to the Society of Jesus, which from the first detected the spirit of the heresy and saw through its aims. Of the vast services which the children of St. Ignatius have rendered to the Church, not the least is the sagacity with which they discovered Jansenism, and the courage with which, through good and evil

report, they pursued it; while at the same time they were ever distinguished for a tender devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus."

This passage alone would suffice to vindicate our argument, and show the latent association between the three subjects which we have grouped together, in connection with the devotion to the Sacred Heart. Jansenists, Gallicans, and Jacobins, all instinctively recognized in the order of Jesus as common foe, and the order found in all alike implacable enemies; while on the other hand, the Jesuits and their opponents have been equally distinguished, the one by their ardour for, the other for their neglect of, the devotion to the Sacred Heart. We can find at once the reason and the cause of this, and convey the moral of our subject and the result of our whole argument in a single nervous sentence of Father Dalgairns, in which he speaks of Jansenism as the rationalistic exposition of the faith and practice of a tepid Catholic. The Son of God predicted that "the days would come when the charity of many would wax cold;" but there was a lower depth of depravity for the human heart than mere tepidity; it was to be tepid in theory,—to frame sophistries and construct systems, in which men might mask the deep-rooted depravity of their nature and their instinctive aversion to religion, by affected moderation and hypocritical prudence, or a simulated zeal for orthodoxy.

"After the regent Orleans and Louis XV. came the French Revolution. One small portion of the Jansenist body started back in affright at the rapid progress of this terrible phenomenon, but the great bulk of the party favoured it, *for one of their own body, with the Revolution before him, called the Jansenists its precursors.*"

We might have made this sentence our text and theme; it is in itself an ample authority for our argument, and we hope to confirm and illustrate it. Father Dalgairns himself does so very powerfully.

"Forty Jansenists sat in the Assembly, and were the authors of the Constitutional Church of France."

We shall show that this was the real origin of the horrors of the Reign of Terror, which were first awakened by the resistance of the clergy to this constitutional Church. Jacobinism was Jansenism rampant and exasperated.

"Here the Jansenist principle was patent, that the Church has no perpetual ruling power within her. They separated faith from

discipline, and declared that they took primitive ages for their model when they introduced democratical principles into the Church, and caused the bishops to be elected by the people. The whole of the French episcopate but five refused to take the oath to observe this constitution, and were expelled from their sees. An innumerable number of the clergy followed their example ; and throughout France the legitimate parish priests were expelled, to give place to Jansenist intruders."

The opposition of the people in the provinces to this was the root of the insurrections which elicited all the horrible cruelty of Jacobinism—the *noyades* and *fusillades* of Lyons and Nantes,—and the massacres of priests, begun at Paris and imitated throughout the land.

"It was at this period," says Father Dalgairns, "amidst the horrors of the French Revolution, that the devotion to the Sacred Heart was of inestimable value in keeping up the courage of Catholics. One fact which we have been able to recover out of the bloody annals of the time, will be sufficient to prove it. It will show how religion was preserved in France during the Reign of Terror. While Carriere was deluging Nantes with blood, a gentleman named De la Billière, with his wife and two unmarried daughters, were lying in the revolutionary prisons. He was accused of harbouring a Catholic priest in his house, was condemned, and perished on the scaffold. His wife and daughters were dragged before the same tribunal, but not even malice and calumny could find a pretext against them. At last it was proved that they had distributed pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus among the peasantry on the estate round their father's château. They were immediately condemned, and shed their blood with the greatest joy for the love of Jesus."

Rightly did the wretches judge, that those who cherished the devotion to the Sacred Heart would gladly shelter a priest who refused to take the oath of allegiance to an impious "constitution," and that they would have no sympathies for the Gallicanism and Jansenism of Jacobinism. The whole argument is embodied in that simple incident; and well might Father Dalgairns add, that "enough has been said to show the deep-rooted hatred of Jansenism against the devotion to the Sacred Heart." But we believe he greatly underrates the closeness of the connection between Jansenism and Jacobinism, if he considered it merely as indicated by the number of avowed Jansenists who sat in the National Assembly. We are persuaded that all those who co-operated in the Revolution, of those

who had any religion at all, were Jansenists at heart ; and of those who had no religion we are certain that they *had* been so, and that in the great majority of cases Jansenism was an intermediate state of mind conducting to Jacobinism.

One of the most powerful passages in the book of Father Dalgairns is that in which he pourtrays the theological history and heretical origin of the opposition of Jansenism to the devotion to the Sacred Heart.

"From the old brood of early heresies, which looked more like ghosts of ancient paganism than corruptions of Christianity, down to the more refined, intellectual, and subtle errors of later times, the way to bring them to an issue, and to force the demon within them out of his property, is to show them the Sacred Manhood as an object to be adored. The same evil spirit which troubled Christians about the Humanity as a whole, now raises a mist in our minds with respect to the worship of the Sacred Heart. The greatest aim is to inspire the intellect of man to invent new heresy, to prevent men from adoring the Sacred Humanity. The last of these efforts is the war directed against the devotion to the Sacred Heart. It is only one act in that great battle against the adoration of Jesus as man, which began with the fall of the angels, and will end only with the day of judgment. Its connection with heresy is no longer occult to us. We can no longer wonder that *doctrinal error, or Eras-tianism, that heresy of worldliness, so often accompanies repugnance to devotion to the Sacred Heart. Disobedience to the Holy See, opposition to Catholic devotions, low conceptions of Mary's honours, all seem to form a sort of organic whole.* It is not that they have anything substantial in themselves, it is that all are symptoms of the heretical spirit which, like a disease, lurks about the souls of all who are not thoroughly loyal children of the Church, ready to throw itself out at any moment and in any shape."

Here is our argument enforced with a nervous power to which we should in vain aspire, and all we hope to have effected is to have afforded some historical illustration and confirmation of it.

There can be no question that Gallicanism arose from the absence of devotion. The simple fact is, that all the kings of France or England, who were disaffected to the Holy See, were immoral, notorious for pride, profligacy, rapacity, and impurity. The *great* Henry IV. was as perfect an impersonation of impurity as our Henry VIII., and the magnificent Louis XIV. was equal to either of them. They were as unlike St. Louis in morality and piety as in loyalty to the Holy See. And it is clear that

the corruption caused by Gallicanism diffused and deepened the profligacy in which it arose. Very likely the rigidity of Jansenism was a reaction from the laxity produced by Gallicanism, but then it is yet more likely that Jacobinism, or the scepticism in which it originated, was a reaction from the rigidity of Jansenism. Very beautifully and powerfully Father Dalgairns, in his book, illustrates the antagonism of the austerity of Jansenism to the loving spirit of the Incarnation, and its consequent opposition to the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and inability to grapple with the depravity of the age, and its tendency to increase it by producing a system of insincerity and hypocrisy, similar to its own systematic dishonesty. "The spirit of devotion to the Sacred Heart," says Father Dalgairns, "is adoration and love." "It is the worship of the love of Jesus." The fact that the Jansenists were opposed to the devotion reveals the real character of its system, and shows that it must have tended to augment the depravity of the age, and promoted the increase of infidelity. And certain it is that between the moral character of Jansenism and Jacobinism there was a remarkable resemblance. Both systems were characterized by intellectual self-idolization, a terrible tenacity of egotism, ready to sacrifice everything to its realization; relentless, remorseless, and unscrupulous. Reckless, first of the souls of men, and then of their bodies, and leading to a baptism of blood.

After the Jacobins came Napoleon, and the empire rapidly succeeded the Reign of Terror. We need not say that as regards the Church Buonaparte followed the fatal policy of the Bourbons, and when he restored the Church endeavoured to enslave her, and render her subservient to his policy. She proved in his case the rock against which, if a man stumble, it is bad, but which if it fall on him will crush him to pieces. Having, at the commencement of his career, committed an outrage on the Holy See, as indecent if not so brutal as the sack of Rome by the Constable of Bourbon, he consummated his career, and sealed his fate by seeking to extort from the Pope, Pius VII., a concordat, with circumstances of outrage as atrocious as those of Philip le Bel against Boniface. Here again we see the sympathy between Jacobinism and Gallicanism. The despotism of the sovereign or of the people led to the same course, though popular violence was carried

to greater excesses. Both sought to coerce the Holy See, and enslave the Church, and when thwarted, both resorted to all the violence of tyranny. There was no difference in principle between the outrages of Napoleon on the Pope, and the Jacobin massacres of the priests, nor between either and the coercive measures taken by the parliaments of Paris under the Bourbons in favour of the Jansenists. There was in each case the tyranny of the temporal over the spiritual, the tyranny of brute force over sacred right, the rebellion of the human against the divine, of the earthly against the heavenly, of the powers of darkness against the powers of light.

When, in 1801, the whole body of the "constitutional" bishops of France in council assembled, renounced those sees to which they had no better title than the will of the people, it was clear that a reaction had taken place in favour of the Holy See, and policy and expediency dictated the declaration on the part of the government of the consulate, that *la grande majorité des Français reconnaissait le culte Catholique Apostolique et Romane pour sa religion*. There was an air rather of insolence than of penitence in this haughty "recognition," which sufficiently showed how far the French nation still was from being exorcised of the evil spirit of pride which had proved its ruin. Of the national vanity Napoleon was now the impersonation and the idol; and in all his conduct towards the Holy See, displayed the overbearing violence of Philip le Bel, and the haughty insolence of Louis XIV. The result was his fall. The retribution in each case was signal. The retreat from Moscow was the counterpart of the victories of Marlborough.

No sooner had Jacobinism been subdued than a reaction arose in favour of the Church; the law denouncing exile against the clergy, the resistance to which by the king was the immediate cause of the atrocities of the Jacobins was repealed; and the priests were relieved from the necessity of taking the oath to the republican constitution. But when Camille Jourdan, the deputy from Lyons, pleaded the cause of the Church against the severe restrictions which the laws still imposed upon her, it was made manifest that the attempt was premature, and that, to use the language of Mr. Alison, "the principles of infidelity were too deeply seated; the council rejected the proposal by such a majority as showed that ages of suffering must yet

be endured before the fatal poison could be expelled from the social body." Words which are verified by the history of France ever since that period. She has been expiating during the last half century in a perpetual series of conscriptions and revolutions her awful crimes against the Church, and unlearning the pernicious principles which she was taught centuries ago in the schools of Gallicanism and Jansenism. France was destined to perpetrate yet greater crimes against the Church. The atrocities of the Revolutionary spirit, satiated at Paris, were removed to Rome. Buonaparte proved himself a worthy successor of the Bourbons, and his rascally army realized in the Eternal City the iniquities, if not cruelties, which equalled those of the Constable of Bourbon at the sack of Rome three centuries before. First the French pillaged the Pontifical States, and then sought to crush the Papal authority.

When Napoleon insolently wrote to the Papal government, dictating their selection of their officers, and directed his ministers to prevent the nomination of a successor to the Chair of St. Peter, and thus "to deliver Europe from the pretended Papal supremacy," he was true to the traditions of Gallicanism, and followed faithfully in the footsteps of Philip le Bel and Louis XIV. It mattered not that it was now the Gallicanism of a republic, instead of a monarchy, except, indeed, that the result was far worse; for a despotic monarch could and did bully a Pope or sack Rome, but the republican divines infused into the Roman population seeds of a vile, revolutionary, and infidel spirit, which have fructified there with a fatal influence, the effects of which we have seen in our own days. Pope Pius VI., who was eighty years old, met brutal outrage with the spirit of a confessor and the courage of a martyr. This is the account even of the Protestant historian:—"The Pope, who had been guarded by five hundred soldiers ever since the entry of the Republicans was directed to retire into Tuscany, his Swiss guard was relieved by a French one, and he was ordered to dispossess himself of his temporal authority." What a contrast was his answer, to the culpable connivance of the prelates of the French Church in the confiscation of its property by the National Assembly:—"He replied, with the firmness of a martyr, 'As supreme Pontiff I am resolved to die in the exercise of all my powers. You may employ force; but though you may

be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul.' Force was soon employed to dispossess him of his authority. He was dragged from the altar ; his repositories were ransacked and plundered—the rings torn from his fingers—the effects of the Vatican inventoried and seized, and the aged Pontiff conducted, with only a few domestics, amidst the brutal jests and sacrilegious songs of French dragoons into Tuscany. But though a captive in the hands of his enemies, the venerable man still retained the supreme authority in the Church. From his retreat in the convent of the Chartreuse, he yet guided the counsels of the faithful ; multitudes fell on their knees wherever he passed, and sought that benediction from a captive which they would perhaps have disregarded from a ruling Pontiff."

"The subsequent treatment of this venerable man," continues Mr. Alison, "was as disgraceful to the Republican government as it was honourable to his piety and constancy as the head of the Church. Fearful that from his virtues and sufferings he might have too much influence in Italy, he was forced to traverse often during the night the Apennines and Alps in a rigorous season, until he at length reached Valence, where, after an illness of ten days, he expired, in the 82nd year of his age, and the 24th of his Pontificate. The cruelty of the Directory increased as he approached their dominions ; all his old attendants were compelled to leave him, and the Father of the Faithful was allowed to expire attended only by his confessor. Yet, even in this disconsolate state, he derived the highest satisfaction from the devotion and reverence of the people in the *provinces* of France through which he passed. Multitudes flocked to the road to receive his benediction, and he frequently repeated, with tears in his eyes, the words of Scripture, 'Verily I say unto you, I have not seen such faith, no, not in Israel!'"

In the *provinces*, let it be remarked. It was only in the *cities* where the influence of court and parliaments, nobles and lawyers, had prevailed and corrupted alike the laity and clergy : it was only in the *cities* that the people were alienated from the Church ; only there that the evil spirits of Gallicanism and Jansenism had paved the way for, and resulted in Jacobinism.

Mr. Alison describes with great indignation the pillage of Rome by the French, an event which shows how identical in all ages is the spirit of irreligious rapacity. "The bloodshed was less, but the spoil greater than the disastrous sack which followed the death of the Constable of

Bourbon." It is singular that the man who supplanted the dynasty of Bourbon should have signalized the commencement of his career by an act of the same kind as that which first gave to the name of Bourbon an infamous celebrity. "The aggression of the French, however, on this occasion, was not," as Mr. Alison says, "confined to the plunder of palaces and churches." The territories of the church and convents were confiscated, and eight cardinals were arrested, who were faithful to the Holy See. Alas! they were in a minority, for, as the historian adds, "a base and despicable faction, among whom, to her disgrace be it told, were found fourteen cardinals,—followed in the train of their oppressors, and returned thanks to God at a public festival for the mercies they had brought upon the country." All these outrages were perpetrated at Rome, be it observed, when the Catholic religion had been restored in France, at least so far as to be recognised; and when the nation was at peace with the Holy See, and recognized its authority by having an ambassador in Rome. What could be more completely accordant with the spirit of Jansenism and Gallicanism, nominally and professedly recognizing the supremacy of the Holy See, and virtually setting it at nought? The atrocities in Rome were committed, be it observed, by those in authority. They were so much at variance with the feelings of the French people, that the army revolted at them, and remonstrated, solemnly declaring that they disavowed in the sight of heaven the crimes committed in the city of Rome and the Ecclesiastical States. Still the army and the nation had no objection to a violent intervention. It was merely a question of degree. This shows that the principle was identical with Gallicanism: the absence of a due spirit of reverence for the Holy See.

The reaction in favour of religion, compelled Napoleon, as a matter of policy, when he attained supreme power to re-establish the Catholic Church. But he did so in the spirit of a despot, and the concordat which he extorted from the Holy See (of course anxious to restore to France the blessings of the faith at any admissible sacrifice,) was the development and embodiment of Gallicanism. The first course was to nominate the bishops and archbishops—who were to nominate the parish priests, subject to the same authority; and a series of articles established what were called the liberties of the Gallican Church, replete

with that spirit of rebellion against the Holy See, which had conducted England to a Reformation, and France to a Revolution. No bull or brief from Rome was to be received without the sanction of the government. No legate of the Holy See was to exercise in France any functions respecting the Gallican Church without the same authority. No decrees, even of general councils, were allowed to be published in France without being first submitted to the approval of the government. No provincial synod was to be held without the leave of the government. An appeal was to be made to the Council of State from all ecclesiastical tribunals, especially on questions concerning the "liberties of the Gallican Church."

Mr. Alison observes upon these articles, "*the Church in France was practically rendered as independent of the Papal authority as the Protestant Establishment of Great Britain.*" Most important testimony, worthy of being noted, and marked, and kept as a perpetual remembrance, for they form a brief and decisive commentary on the true nature of Gallicanism, and contain a triumphant vindication of the Holy See in its perpetual protests against its principles—in all its kindred forms and systems. The spirit is ever the same. The articles of Napoleon's *concordat* come to much the same thing as the "*Constitutions of Clarendon*," which Henry II. sought to impose on the English Church, and against which St. Thomas was a martyr; they embody the same principles as the statutes of *præmunire and provisors* by which, under our Edwards, the way was prepared for the Reformation, and the acts of the Royal Supremacy by which it was established; and they embody the same spirit as the "*Pragmatic Sanction*;"—which a Louis XI. upheld, and a Louis XIV. developed—into much the same system as that on which the liberties of the Gallican Church were now maintained. The temper and tendency of despotism is always and everywhere the same; to engross all powers, spiritual and temporal: it matters not whether it assume a royal or republican form, except that the Gallicanism of the republic is the result of that of royalty, and far worse, because more widely diffused and deeply rooted, and less easily eradicated. It is lamentable to see how slowly nations are instructed by experience. Just emerged from the horror of the Revolution, the French people permitted the recurrence to the system of religious tyranny

which had produced it, and while yet the atrocities of the Reign of Terror were fresh in their recollection, restored in principle the hateful domination over the Church—a resistance to which first provoked them.

The Count de la Montalembert thus forcibly describes the state of the French Church at this era, and the spirit in which Napoleon acted towards it :—

" On the first of January, 1800, there was no Pope. Pius VI. had died at Valence, the exile and prisoner of an atheistical republic. Rome had only just been released from the hands of a horde of Pagans, who had set up an apology for a republic in proclaiming the perpetual dissolution of the papacy. A most perilous interregnum of eight months intervened between the death of Pius VI. and the election of Pius VII. The sacred college expelled from Rome could only be assembled under the safeguard of a schismatical army, brought over from the interior of Muscovy to arrest for a time the parricidal arms of a people but lately the most eminent of Catholic nations. A few old men assembled to head the Russian lines, in an island of the marshes of Venice, that haughty and accomplished city, which had just been laid low, after having signalized itself by its shuffling hostility to the Roman Church, of which, during the middle ages, it had formed the bulwark and the home."

" In the kingdom of Clovis and St. Louis the state of the Catholic religion was this. The entire body of the episcopacy was in exile : the clergy, decimated by the guillotine and banishment ; the faithful hunted and harassed, long driven to the alternative of open apostacy or death, only just beginning to breathe, and enjoy in silence the tolerance of contempt. There were no resources, either material or moral. The least patrimony of the Church, formed by the love and voluntary donations of forty generations, was totally alienated. The religious orders, after a thousand years of glory and works of benevolence, were extirpated and oppressed ; three thousand convents and monasteries were abolished, and with them all the colleges, chapters, sanctuaries, asylums of penance, retreats, study, and prayer. France, polluted by ten years of revolution, had just placed herself under the dominion of a young conqueror, who had delivered her from a state of anarchy, and deprived her of her liberty, who knew everything, could do everything, and willed everything ; who in Italy had imposed on the Holy See the cruel treaty of Tolentino (of which it was said by his minister, ' We are killing her by inches'), and was only known to the Church, which he was so gloriously to restore, by the acts of deception and spoliation he had practised upon her."

And accordingly Napoleon told the French people, " My differences with the Pope have been happily termi-

nated by a concordat," and went on to declare, "I desire peace; it is necessary, but I will never conclude it save on terms suitable to the grandeur and interests of *my empire*." Here was the true spirit of despotism. It was just the language which had been held by Louis XIV. It expressed the egotism which is ever the essence of despotism. Whether manifested in oppression of the Church or of the nation, the spirit is the same. The evil spirit which sought to make an instrument of the Pope, laid the people under a remorseless system of conscription, which, as Mr. Alison says, "amounted to the permanent absorption of one in forty of the whole population in the profession of arms, whereas it has never been found by experience that an empire, how powerful soever, can for any length of time flourish with more than one in a hundred engaged in such pursuits." The same iron despotism which persecuted the Pope oppressed the people, and the conscriptions of the empire slew as many as the proscriptions of the Reign of Terror. It was not long ere retribution fell upon the insolent assailant of the Holy See. It fell upon Napoleon as it had upon the Bourbons, and Leipsic and Waterloo completed what Moscow had begun. As he had followed the example he realized the fate of Louis XIV., and the dynasty of Bourbon had one more opportunity of retrieving its character. They were restored to the throne, but they were untaught by experience, and reassumed sovereignty in the same spirit as respects the Church as that which had so long prevailed in their predecessors, a spirit not of open opposition or flagrant rebellion, but of disaffection and distrust, a system of reserve of policy and expediency, in short, the spirit of Gallicanism.

The eloquent pen of Mr. Macaulay perhaps supplies their only palliation for conduct which, of course, men consider their best title to approbation. "They came back to a land in which they could recognize nothing. Twenty years had done the work of twenty generations; events had come thick, men had lived fast, the old institutions and feelings had been torn up by the root. There was a new Church founded and endowed by the usurper." The change or aspect of the Church the more philosophical pen of Mr. Alison describes as "The total confiscation of the property of the Church, and the conversion of the ecclesiastical members from a powerful body maintained on its own estates, to a needy set of salaried functionaries

paid by the state, and occupying a very subordinate place in its establishment." Here was the consummation of Gallicanism. Its worst result was not the mere impoverishment of the Church, though the practical effect of that was of course to circumscribe its powers within the narrow limits of a selfish economy on the part of the state, which, like a dishonest guardian, had absorbed its estates, and returned as little as possible of its plunder. The constituent assembly had estimated the number of parochial clergy necessary for France at forty-eight thousand, but at the Restoration there were only thirty-eight thousand parish priests, though the population had increased six millions. An increase of six millions in the population, and a decrease of ten thousand in the clergy. This simple fact, of course, speaks volumes as to the practical results of Gallicanism. But this was not the worst. Of those six millions the majority were doubtless unbaptized, and of the whole generation which had risen up during the last fatal quarter of a century, the majority were practically without religion. The cause is obvious and has been amply shown.

The nation had been under the rule of scepticism even with nominal recognition of Catholicism. The Catholic religion had been re-established upon policy, quite in the spirit of Gallicanism. The ruling powers had no real care for it, and were not only not in earnest about it, but did not desire any one to be so, and here again is the spirit of Gallicanism. It was just the spirit of the age of Louis XIV. The leading men of the nation living as though religion were not really true, led of course the great mass of the nation to do so too, and diffused the fatal infection of a sympathetic scepticism. The results were the same as at the era of the Revolution. As Mr. Alison says, "A few eminent men, such as Chateaubriand, brought to the defence of the ancient faith genius of the highest order, philosophy of the most exalted kind. But the great mass of the educated citizens in towns, especially in Paris, were either openly infidel or utterly indifferent to religion, as a troublesome restraint on their passions." Dr. Newman could have written nothing more true upon the subject. It really is the pith of the question, the very marrow of our argument. Again in the history of France, was the same fearful result produced, and the same great truth illustrated, that Gallicanism, a system of government, which

is not in earnest about religion, and deals with the Church upon principles of state policy, without confidence in her divine mission, without confidence in her supernatural powers, and without deference to her sublime claims, is a system which, by leading the nation to live without being in earnest about religion, and to act as though it were not true, make them to come at last to think it not true, and plunge themselves in scepticism and corruption.

The concordat of Napoleon was in substance in force. And in 1823, the ambassador of Charles X., at Rome, thus wrote to his master on the subject of the conclave : “The French cardinals ought to be sent without any one’s authority—without recommendation—without *conscience* I may say,—taking that word in a sense which would express a vanity occupied with its own affairs rather than with those of the king :” “they would labour at the work desired by the king,—recommended to their conscience as prelates appointed by the king, and who would not have been appointed had it not been for the king’s influence.” Here is the spirit of Louis XIV., as rampant as ever ; and accordingly, the Count de Montalembert says, that Gallicanism produced in 1826 a counterpart of the declaration of 1682.” How incurable is the spirit of egotism and nationalism—“the evil spirit (as the Count calls it) of independence and revolt !” What had the Church gained since the days of Bossuet ? What advantage did she attain by substituting Bourbons for Buonaparte ? Well, the old system produced the same result. Another revolution again brought retribution to Gallicanism. In 1830, after those years which the Count de Montalembert has described as we have stated—a revolution, brief, but bloody, expelled the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. Two years before the Jesuits—who had come back without being recalled, and with the old sentence of expulsion over their heads, passed in the fatal age of corruption which preceded the first Revolution—were again expelled. The expulsion of the order of Jesus, the great opponents of Gallicanism and Jansenism, the intrepid supporters of the supremacy of the Holy See, the zealous advocates of that interior power which is represented by their devotion to the Sacred Heart, speaks volumes of the character of an age in which it occurred. How remarkable that the renewal of the crime should so soon be followed by a repetition of the retribution !

Whether the revolution were just or not, no one will deny that the bloody tragedy itself, and the state of the nation out of which it arose, were equally national calamities. The spirit of Jacobinism was not dead. It had only slept. It was not satiated by the rivers of blood which flowed in Paris; even after the Revolution it shed oceans more at Lyons, and the horrors of the Reign of Terror were at once revived. And then came the charter, which recognized no religion as the religion of the state, and thus established the principle of rationalism, which is the proper development of Gallicanism. As to the reign of Louis Philippe, the Count de Montalembert, its *apologist*, speaks of the government as "yielding to the Voltarian tendencies of the literary classes and the political majorities." Why, what could be said worse of the age of Louis XV.? What could be expected from a monarch who had a Guizot for his minister? We admire M. Guizot as an enlightened and learned statesman, but he would disclaim all pretensions to be deemed a fit exponent of what he would call "ultra montane" ideas, or a proper minister to carry out a policy of freedom for the Church. In 1833 his great educational measure was carried, by which the Catholic curé has for his associates in the work of educating the rising generation, "the ministers of the religious denominations," a system professedly borrowed from Protestant Prussia. A Gallican king and Protestant Premier! Such the patrons of the French Church for upwards of fifteen years more, from the accession of Louis Philippe: nearly another generation. The character of this regime may be illustrated most forcibly by a single incident. The government of Louis Philippe expelled from France the Convent of Cistercian monks, whose history has recently been given to us. And in 1845 the French Chambers, on the motion of M. Thiers, the historian of the Revolution, passed an order of the day against the Jesuits and the government, and its ambassador at Rome obtained from the general of the order a compelled consent to their dispersion.

Gallicanism had now done its worst, and had its way, and reached its lowest development; and what was the result? Jacobinism had been suppressed, but there had arisen Socialism. Out of this, in the providence of God, came the triumph and ascendancy of Catholicism—the reaction for religion arose in the hearts of men, where

alone its power can tell,—and the result was, that which the Count de Montalembert describes with so much eloquence and exultation. It is impossible not to sympathize with the spirit in which he exults over the spectacle of revived Catholicism, and glories in what he considers the extinction of Gallicanism. And if to a certain extent we cannot but think he over-colours the picture, and is too sanguine in his ideas of the eradication of a poison which has rankled in the breast of France for centuries, and perhaps we can detect a little of that nationalism which he would disclaim, we at the same time rejoice to feel persuaded that there is a considerable degree of truth in his eloquent statements. Passages can be found even in the pages of this illustrious writer, which indicate a consciousness on his part that the Catholic spirit yet remains in France. In 1848, the day after the Revolution, a great number of Catholics, says he, priests and laity, were seen to hail with their sympathies what they called a new idea. “They spoke, wrote, and preached that Christianity was nothing but democracy, as it had been said, written, and preached under the restoration, that Christianity was monarchy.” Here was the old spirit of Jacobinism, even in the Church; in other words, the Gallicanism of a republic; the idolization of egotism in another form; the substitution of the human for the Divine. “It was even said that the republic dated from Calvary, and that liberty, equality, and fraternity, were three rays issuing from the heart of Jesus crucified.” The very language of the old Jacobinism revived, with too much of its spirit; the ancient spirit of revolt and independence essentially opposed to the spirit of Catholicism. As the Count says, “This base coin of the Gospel was soon out of circulation, and servile adhesions and generous illusions received a prompt and bloody check; and then,” as he says, “prelates came forward with adulatory addresses to the new power which arose.” Well might he say, “It is the same spirit, if the men are not the same.” The old spirit of nationalism, relying on human institutions instead of on the Divine mission and supernatural powers of the Church. It is always and everywhere the same. We have spoken all along of France, and made only a cursory allusion to Italy. The same evil spirit has been there and everywhere, and the result the same. The Count describes them thus; in a single sentence he sums up the history of Sardinia, that country where the evil spirit is doing its

fatal work now. "The whole modern history of the House of Savoy unfortunately bears the impress of that miserable spirit of rivalry against the Church, founded upon Gallican and Jansenist doctrines." As in Italy so in Germany; and we need only allude cursorily, as the Count does, to the acts of Joseph II., in imitation of the canons of the heretical synod of Pistoja, to which Father Dalgairns refers, as embodying the spirit of Jansenism; enforced, as they were, by the Jansenist universities of Pavia and Ricci. And even in France, although, as the Count says, "the Church appears again more powerful, more popular than at any other epoch of her modern history," the best proof of that is, not that "all powers invoke her support and sympathy," for that may be mere policy; since, as he himself says, "after the struggles that have swollen her history during the last sixty years, of all the powers which were standing in 1789, only two have gained anything, revolution and the Church;" and we may add—indeed he sufficiently shows—that Revolution has been taught by experience to seek the support of the Church. This is as much the spirit of Gallicanism as the regime of Louis XIV. It is merely making the Church serve the purposes of the State.

The best, the only proofs, however, of the triumphs of the Church are to be found in her influence on the hearts of men, and of these we find an abundance. As the Count says, "All solid faith in human authority has been uprooted." If so, then the conversion of the nation from the ancient error of nationalism is commenced, if not completed. It is not, however, as he says, the external victories which he enumerates with so much eloquence, but the *internal* movement, the conquest of souls, in which we may discover most strikingly the contrast between the present and the past. "What would it avail the Church," he asks, "to have recognized her external influence and liberty, if she were not equally victorious in them over heterodox tendencies,—the torpor and indifference of the faithful, their ignorance of or indifference to the glorious and vital powers of Catholicism?" "Now it is in this," he adds, "that the immense progress of Catholicity has been particularly displayed for the last fifty years, in the renewal of faith, the springing forth of charity." The powers which were based on policy have fallen, thrones have vanished, and dynasties have been destroyed; but

the Church, fresh in her eternal youth, has risen in her supernatural power, and has been silently working her sublime triumphs in the souls of men. "More Houses are offered to the Bishops than they can direct ; to the Jesuits more pupils than they can instruct." Here are the real signs of antagonism to Jansenism, Calvinism, or Gallicanism. "The Jesuits, for the dispersion and extinction of whom every effort was excited at Rome and Paris, are now peaceably invested with the only right to which they have ever laid claim, that of devoting themselves to the salvation of souls." And what is the fruit of these claims? Not ten years have elapsed since an order was carried against them in the Chambers. Not four years have passed since a house of the Jesuits was closed by order of the present Emperor, acting quite in accordance with the traditions of Gallicanism and instincts of despotism ; for if even there had been imprudence, was there not the Holy See to appeal to ? But this is the essence of Gallicanism. It will act for itself, and seeks to substitute the temporal for the spiritual. Truly does the Count say, "The evil is still immense ; the victims of a public education, insufficiently purified, are still too numerous ; but how many sources of consolation do we find !?" And then he fondly adverts to "the great associations destined solely, apart from the struggles and preoccupations of public life, to propagate the simple and severe practice of this Christian duty ; and which have arisen in our own day in the midst of discouragement and apprehensions. That society of St. Vincent de Paul, the establishment of which we witnessed in 1834,—which has transformed so many thousands of students into vigilant tutors, and numbers 883 conferences, of which 500 are in France. Then, again, its rival, of still more modern date, the Arch-confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Mary, for the conversion of Sinners."

The Heart of Mary is ever near the Heart of Jesus. And now we have been brought back again to the subject of the book of Father Dalgairns,—the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is time that we close ; and how can we do so better than by recommending a work which so beautifully and powerfully advocates the devotion to that Sacred Heart, in the spirit of which devotion can alone be found the antidote for that evil spirit of egotism and self-will which is the root, whether in the individual or national mind, of the false systems of which we have been describ-

ing the rise and the results? What can subdue the spirit of self-will, which is, as the Scripture says, as the sin of witchcraft, and which is the root of bitterness, from whence has sprung such bitter fruits, but the realization of the Divine Mysteries of the Incarnation, the contemplation of a God made man, the Virgin Mother and her Creator-Child. In the words of Father Dalgairns:

"In the Incarnation what do we see but a God *in earnest*; in earnest about the salvation of souls; and what else can tend to make men in earnest about them? To be thus *in earnest*, to *realize* what they profess to believe, to have *faith* in the Church, reverence for the Vicar of Christ, and fervour in interior religion,—what is this but to destroy those evil systems, and consume that evil spirit which has been among them? And of this *earnestness*, this *fervour*, what is at once the symptom and the source but devotion to that Divine abyss of charity, the Heart of Jesus?"

Would that we could transfer to our pages many of these fervid passages, in which the pious and zealous writer of the book we have been noticing describes this devotion, and shows how it embodies the mystery of the Incarnation, and how all the hopes of humanity are centred in the loving agonies and burning charity of that Sacred Heart.

**ART. V.—*The Life and Martyrdom of Savonarola.*** By R. R.  
MADDEN, M. R. I. A. London : Newby, 1853.

**I**T is the prerogative of truth to become clearer the more it is examined; and more evident in proportion as it is opposed. As gold is refined in the fire which destroys whatever alloy of baser material may have been mixed with it, and as the diamond gains new lustre from the chafing which polishes its facets, so every renewed enquiry, every fresh and searching investigation into its details but brings forth more clearly and in greater relief the features of truth. And this prerogative of truth, which is at the same time its test, has ever distinguished the Church, which is the truth as it is in Christ. Men,

indeed, who have esteemed themselves her defenders have often ignored this fact : they have deemed that their aid was needed to shield from intruding inquiry, her whose strength, as her beauty, was from within. There have been those who have sought to stifle inquiry into the natural sciences, lest they might clash with revealed truth ; and many have sought to slur over portions of history lest the follies and the crimes of her members, the dissensions amongst her brethren, the sins of some of her unworthy rulers should tarnish her fair fame, or weaken the love of her children. But in truth it is not so—the more searching the enquiry, the more clear will it be that the sins of her members affect not the Church's integrity ; and that the strongest proof of the providence that watches over her is her preservation from the enemies which are of her household, or as Dr. Madden forcibly puts it—that the clearest proof that the Catholic Church is divine is, that such a Pontiff as Alexander the Sixth could not destroy it.

These remarks, though they apply preeminently to the Church, which is the everlasting truth, are also applicable with regard to the character of all truly great men ; the more their lives are examined into, the more their actions are scrutinised, the more will their really great qualities be appreciated, and the smallness of those faults and imperfections from which none of the children of Adam are exempt be perceived.

Therefore is it that we rejoice to see the life of one whom we have long honoured as one of the Church's noblest champions, written by one who, like Dr. Madden, has laid down for himself as a rule to "nothing extenuate nor set down ought in malice ;" and at the same time to observe as much as in him lay the canon of the father of English history (Lingard) "to take nothing on credit, but in every case to examine the original authorities for himself." \*

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\* Dr. Madden seems to us to have carried this independence much too far, or rather to have mistaken its scope. In his preface he says, "I have abstained from consulting any persons either of the clergy or laity of any creed—resolving to think for myself, I abstained from soliciting or accepting any aid, advice, or co-operation, &c." Seeking the aid of others more learned than ourselves, with regard to facts, does not prevent us from thinking for our-

Hence Dr. Madden has produced a very valuable work, replete with information, and clearly shewing much research, and, if in the course of our remarks, we shall frequently be found to point out what we conceive to be faults of detail, it is because we deem the work worthy to be made as perfect as may be, and because we hold it to be the most valuable service which a critic can render both to the writer and the reader to point out any mistakes into which the latter may have fallen: the excellencies will approve themselves,—corrections require to be pointed out.

As in a former number of this Review we gave an historical sketch of the life of Savonarola, we shall not now repeat it here, but shall devote our attention to a brief investigation of some of the disputed points relative to his career, availing ourselves chiefly of the authorities contained in the work before us.

To judge a man rightly, he must be viewed in relation to other men, to those with whom he was associated, whom he succeeded, who followed him. The error of writers, such as Luther, Beza, and Arnold, was to associate Savonarola with men from whom he himself would have fled as from pollution; to class him with Huss and Wycliffe, with Calvin and Cranmer; to give him, so to speak, a false parentage and a race of spurious descendants. Dr. Madden's view of his character is, of course, the very reverse of theirs; but his estimate of the Monk of Ferrara, appears to us deficient in this; that he seems to look upon him too much as an isolated phenomenon, a character which has no parallel; a man who stands alone in history, who had no immediate mental ancestry, nor no mental posterity.

If, however, we examine the history of the Church from the eighth to the sixteenth century we shall find the same phenomena occurring in every age. We shall find that the world which had in vain sought to drown the nascent

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selves; and as one man cannot know everything, judicious information would have saved our author many a blunder in canon law, metaphysics, chronology, nay in Latin, Italian, and even English, and deprived the critic of half his pabulum of faults. As well might a writer refuse to read other writers, as refuse to consult living authorities with regard to facts and references. His *facts* cannot be his own unless he invent them; his *opinions* should be.

Church of Christ in the blood of martyrs, changed her tactics and sought to stifle the life of the Church in her own insidious embraces. Whom the sword had failed to extirpate she sought to corrupt with gold; and kings and princes were her ready instruments, and not least those who vauntingly professed themselves the patrons of the Church; and the weak sons of the Church unwittingly betrayed her, and the false sold her into bondage; and the great sin against the Holy Ghost infested the militant body of the Church like a leprosy, and seemed to defy all efforts for its complete eradication. And during all these ages of struggle and of contest God raised up into himself faithful witnesses, who took up each in his day the song of exhortation, and of warning, and of denunciation against all the scandals which stained the garments of the spouse of Christ; but more especially against the leprosy of simony, until that great evil, which saint after saint had preached against, which pope after pope had striven with, which council after council had denounced, finally received its death blow in the great Tridentine council.

The Church had hardly seen, for the first time, the purple of the Cæsars subdued to the cross of Christ, when the great Archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, raised his voice against the corruptions which had already commenced to rush in upon the Church. It were tedious to enumerate the long train of prophets who took up the same strain, and who number in their ranks St. Peter Damian, St. Bernard, the great Hildebrand, St. Catherine of Sienna, and a hundred others, till as the line commenced in Milan, so it may be said to have closed there when the successor of St. Ambrose, the great St. Charles, saw that plague against which this lengthened war had been waged finally rooted out by that great council at which he assisted, and whose reformatory decrees he was the first to carry into execution.

And, as a battle waxes fiercer as it draws to a close, and the tempest about to cease puts forth all its strength, so the period of the Church's hottest trial was the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, those years which preceded the great disciplinary reformation and renovation of Trent. And it was in that hour of darkness that Savonarola preached, and taught, and struggled for that reform of discipline which

he knew would come, albeit it would be when his eyes had closed in death.

We need hardly tell our readers that the character of Savonarola has been very differently estimated by different Catholic writers, (for we need not trouble ourselves with the theories of a certain class of Protestants from Beza to Whiteside,) yet we believe that few, if any, who have attentively studied his life in his own writings, and those of his contemporaries, have formed any but a favourable estimate of it.

The first question which arises is naturally one with regard to his personal character. Was he really pious, humble, and devout? or was he a hypocrite putting on the mask of piety in order to attain ambitious or sensual ends?

Dr. Madden rests the issue chiefly on the intrinsic evidence of his writings; and we believe that no one could carefully study them and the times and circumstances of their composition, and believe the writer to be a hypocrite or a proud deceiver. But it is by no means necessary to rest our estimate of Jerome's character on internal evidence alone; the evidence of his contemporaries and those who lived immediately after him is equally favourable. Burlamachi, J. F. Picus della Mirandola, Fra Benedetto, Nardi, Machiavelli, Cardinal del Rovere, afterwards Julius the Second, who were his contemporaries all bear the highest testimony to his piety; and Pope Paul the Third, the blessed Colomba of Perugia, Benedict the Fourteenth, St. Catherine of Ricci, and St. Philip Neri, all esteemed him as a saintly man and an illustrious servant of God. On the other hand, of his contemporaries, the courtly Burchardt, Paulus Jovius, Ambrosius Politus, John Poggius, and Alexander the Sixth, are the only ones who impugn his motives or his character, and they have been followed by many Protestant writers, and some few Catholics of no great note. There can be no question then as to which side the weight of evidence is on, the good and holy ever loved and revered Jerome, the lukewarm, the venial, the bad, reviled and accused him. From his earliest youth Jerome had grieved over the flood of iniquity which covered the earth, and over the evils which oppressed the Church. Nothing can be more touching than the lament contained in those verses written in his early youth, which are entitled *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, especially that stanza in which he repre-

sents the Church as mourning over the introduction of ambition in ecclesiastical dignities into Rome.

"Cosi diss'io alla pia Madre antica,  
Pel gran disio che ho di pianger sempre ;  
E lei, che par che gli occhi mai tempre,  
Col viso chino e l'anima pudica,  
La man mi porse, e alla sua mendica  
Spelonca mi condusse lacrimando."

"E qui disse : Quando  
Io vidi a Roma entrar quella superba, \*  
Che va tra fiori e l'erba,  
Securamente, mi ristrinse alquanto  
Ove io conduceo la mia vita in pianto ?"

"The ancient, holy mother I addressed,  
Made, with accustomed sadness, my demand,  
And she, likewise, with sorrows long oppressed,  
Tho' poor, most pitiful, now pressed my hand,  
And deigned e'en while she wept thus to respond."

"When I see Pride on holy ground intrude,  
And worldly schemes by sacred persons planned,  
My wearied spirit sinks, its strength subdued,  
But theirs, with greater courage, seems to be imbued."

We give the translation as we find it in the work before us, but it by no means fully expresses the meaning of the original.

That early sorrow clung to him to the last ; relieved, however, by the belief that God in His mercy would in His own good time hear the prayers of His Church and purify her from scandals. And, if in his weary and protracted combat against evil, Jerome ever erred in moderation or in prudence, or if in denouncing the sin he forgot the observance due to the position of the sinner, he might well plead in excuse that it was zeal for his Master's honour that hurried him away. Imperfections do not hinder men from being great or saintly, as the last Dominican biographer of Jerome says: "Hanno anche gli uomini grandi i loro falli, ma non cessano perciò d'essere ammirandi, sempre, che le parti buoni transcendono da lunga mano le ree ; non essendo conceduto ad alcuno rivestito della misera creta di Adamo andare affatto immune dalla fralzezza che l'accompagna."—*Marchese.* A sentence

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\* L'ambizione delle dignità ecclesiastiche."—*Nota auctoris.*

which seems to us to sum up the character of the great Dominican of Ferrara.

We shall not delay here to vindicate Jerome from the silly accusations of those who would make him out a Protestant, since every line of his writings proves his invincible attachment to the Catholic Church; but as he has occasionally been supposed by Catholic writers liable to the imputation of having supported heresy, it may be well briefly to examine the charge. The only distinct charge of the sort against him is to be found in Burchardt, who states that he was accused of teaching the following heretical propositions.

- "1. The Church of God needs a reform.
- "2. The Church of God will be afflicted.
- "3. The Church of God will be renewed.
- "4. Florence also, after the affliction, will be renewed.
- "5. And afterwards it was to be hoped the infidels would be converted to Christ.
- "6. All those things would happen in our days.
- "7. The excommunication lately fulminated against Savonarola was null and of no effect, and those who disregarded it did not sin."—*Diary*, p. 47.

Now it is manifest that of these only the first and third are in any way susceptible of an heretical meaning; and these only on the supposition that, by saying that the Church of God needed a reform and a renewal, Jerome meant a reform of doctrine, and not that reform of discipline and practice which the reformatory canons of the Council of Trent were intended to effect. The latter, moreover was manifestly his meaning. He again and again reiterated that the Church could not err, that her teaching was infallible, both in doctrine and in morals,\* but that her ministers were sometimes guilty of great crimes, and that licence prevailed even in her high places; and this was what had been reiterated by St. Bernard, St. Anselm, and St. Catherine of Sienna.

The last proposition may indeed have been erroneous, but can in no sense be considered heretical: but we intend to discuss the whole question of the excommunication a little later.

Even in Jerome's lifetime the objects he aimed at in the reform he preached in Florence, and the motives which

\* See the "Triumphus Crucis," *passim*, and ap. Marchese, p. 124.

impelled him to it were but imperfectly understood ; and since then few of his biographers seem fully to have appreciated the question ; even Dr. Madden seems to us hardly to have placed before his readers, as clearly as might be wished, the circumstances of the times which formed the justification of Jerome's conduct. Thus he speaks of him as though he held the opinions advanced by the Abbé Gaume, in his "*Ver rongeur*," that the use of the classics at all tends to corrupt the mind, and that they should be banished from Christian education. But this theoretic objection to the use of classical authors and classical literature and art is nowhere to be found in the writings of Jerome. His great master, St. Thomas Aquinas, had shown a far other system when, to use the expression of his own day, he Christianized Aristotle, and applied all the subtleties of his logic to the demonstration of the truths of Catholicity ; so Jerome well understood how to apply to the uses of truth the weapons which were to be found in the armoury of the ancients ; and he did so in due season ; but different circumstances require a different line of action, and to appreciate the course he pursued in Florence we must understand the situation of society, and more particularly of society in Florence at that time.

Throughout the Christian world, and particularly in Italy, the fifteenth century had ushered in an era of relaxed morality and decayed religious fervour. The causes of this were multiform, but the most remarkable ones are well pointed out by Marchese (p. 102) to have been the great schism of the West, and the removal of the seat of the papacy to Avignon. The latter, by rendering the popes in some measure dependant on the kings of France, diminished their power to control the clergy, and diverted their attention from the government of the Church to intrigues of state ; the former utterly destroyed all ecclesiastical discipline throughout a great part of Europe, and left the flock a prey to ravening wolves in the guise of shepherds. The people were dissolute, bloody and corrupt, and God in His justice inflicted on them that greatest of curses, a bad priesthood. European society was deeply tainted and demoralized when the destruction of the eastern empire, combined with other circumstances, to introduce a greater knowledge of the literature of Greece and Rome, and a more familiar acquaintance with the arts

of those former masters of the world. And society did, as all living bodies do, it assimilated the new food to its own nature ; and what a healthy, Christian, and God-fearing society would have derived edification from and turned to the glory of God, it converted into a source of scandal and a worship of the devil, even as the diseased body converts healthful food into aliment for its disorder. Those who hated the God of Calvary because He was contrary to their works, were rejoiced to meet with the gods of Olympus ; those who could not bear to read the Scriptures, or the Fathers, because their writings condemned the vices they practised, delighted to be able to assign as a reason for their neglect, the uncouth language in which, as they alleged, such unpalatable precepts were couched ; and to be able to study and imitate writers whom they admired, not so much for the real beauties of their style as for the laxness of their morals. And as example is contagious, numbers even who had not such strong reasons for their conduct were carried away by the prevailing fashion of the day, and were as vehement classicists as those whose actions, as well as their language, savoured of the latter days of Rome. In a word, it was the popular idea of the age ; just as liberalism is now, and the devil turned it to his advantage just as he strives now to pervert liberality and enlightenment to his own purposes.

It is difficult to form an adequate idea even after a lengthened acquaintance with the authors of that day ; it is still more difficult to convey to others by a few quotations, an adequate idea how extensively vice had obtained possession of the public mind under the guise of classicism. It was not merely that the most lascivious of the ancient writers were chosen in preference ; that Cicero, that Tacitus, that Demosthenes, that Homer and Virgil, were neglected for Apuleius, for Tibullus and Propertius ; and that the pedants of that day exercised themselves in imitations of those writers which resembled the originals in nothing but their lasciviousness ;\* that artists were encouraged to ape the indecorousness of ancient art, whilst they neglected its beauties ; that even clergymen and monks were sanctioned in using language, provided it were classical, unbefitting not merely priests, but Christian laymen.

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\* See the poems of Lorenzo de Medici, in Roscoe's Life.

It was that vice with a classic mask was exalted and virtue despised, because it was not draped in a toga.

And the tyrants of the hour who knew that liberty flourishes with piety, and that vice enervates a population, and paves the way for its subjugation, were not slow to perceive the advantages they might derive from the bent of the popular mind. They proclaimed themselves the protectors of classic studies—the Mæcenases of literary men, but it was on condition that they should be so many fawning pseudo-Horaces to mock-Cæsars; artists were patronised, but they might only sculpture lascivious Ledas, or ministering Ganymedes; their chisel might not dare to form the menacing form of a Cato, or an Harmodius. Historians and poets were salaried, but they might be only panegyrists. The stern eloquence of Tacitus, or Thucydides, might not be heard in the presence of those who imitated Nero and Dionysius, nor might the strains of Tyrtaeus be sung in Florence under the Medician yoke. The soft notes of Morganti replaced the stern strains of Dante, and even the subtle secretary of Florence had been forced to veil his meaning in enigmas when he would depict the tyranny of the Italian despots.

Foremost in this revival of classical vice were the Medici: they were not content with the influence of their own personal bad example, but by the solemn institution of *canti carnescialeschi*, they sought to familiarize the people with vice.\* These *canti carnescialeschi* were poems generally of burlesque mythology, which were acted through the streets in solemn procession: the subjects chosen were such as the triumphs of Bacchus and Ariadne, and other amatory and lascivious subjects of mythology. The results of such teaching may be seen in Boccacio's tales.†

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\* Madden, vol. i. p. 368.

† To prove that we have not exaggerated the encouragement given by the Medici to licentiousness, it is only necessary to refer to the poems of Lorenzo, selected by his panegyrist, Roscoe, and given in the appendix to his Life. Not only are the amours of Venus and Mars celebrated in a style which shames Ovid (*Amori di Venere e Marte*). Not only does he address a married woman (and he reminds her of the fact) in strains of the grossest licentiousness ("Elegia"), but he parodies the most sacred truths of religion, in the "confessione" and the "Sette allegrezze d'amore." The last-named poem, which can find a parallel in grossness only amongst

Such, then, was the state of things in Florence when Jerome began to preach a reform ; classicism was used as a cloak and a justification of immorality ; and the Medici, the heads of the classicists, were the avowed patrons of vice.

Jerome, from the first, saw that no terms could be held with such a world of debauchery ; that no partial remedies could affect the evil ; that, to use the phrase of his own country, he must "break with the vizor down" with vice and its abettors. He was not blind to the consequences which would follow such a course : the world, which was steeped in vice, was to be aroused ; and the world would hate the voice of him that startled it from its lethargy. The great ones of the city who patronized vice were to be denounced, and they would persecute him who dared to denounce them. His task was like to that of the prophets of old when they denounced the impending woes to the house of Israel ; and his reward was to be like theirs, to seal his testimony with his blood. It was this abnormal state of society which induced Jerome to adopt a strange and unwonted line of conduct, and which forms his justification. Whilst vice remains in private, and pays to virtue the tribute of hypocrisy, the minister of religion may content himself with preaching against immorality in general, and with private exhortations ; but when vice glories in its infamy, and proclaims its shame ; when the bad openly advocate a wrong, and justify a scandal, it is mere timidity which would induce the preacher to shrink from the application of the sentence to him who has himself proclaimed his guilt. Hence that directness of invective and pointedness of appeal which characterized the discourses of Jerome, and which his contemporaries, who would have easily brooked tame generalities, complain of ; nay, in cases of public scandal, as in that of the wife of Bentivoglio, in Bologna (Marchese, p. 110), he did not hesitate to denounce the individuals by name. But it was when he was appointed prior of St. Mark that Jerome was called upon most clearly to choose between the friendship of the great ones of the day, and the duty he owed to God ; and as the circumstances have been much misunderstood, we think it well briefly to place them before our readers.

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the worst excesses of poor Beranger, was written for one of the  
canti carnesialeschi, as appears by the two last lines.

"Savonarola was no sooner made prior of St. Mark, than he was informed that it was a customary thing with the superiors of all convents in Florence, on their appointment to the office of prior or head of their respective houses, to pay a formal visit to Lorenzo de Medici, as a recognition of his legitimate authority in his capacity of head of the republic, and for the purpose of recommending to his protection their several convents."—Madden, vol. i. p. 127.

Two considerations must at once have struck the mind of Jerome : first, that though he had hitherto, as a private citizen, and one from his profession averse to politics, been content to obey the laws and submit to the existing authorities without question, yet that this formal visit would be an explicit recognition of an authority which he believed in his conscience to be an usurpation and a wrong : secondly, and this was more serious still, that Lorenzo was the avowed patron of that licentiousness which he (Jerome) was occupied in preaching against ; and that consequently if he approached him it must be to remonstrate with him ; otherwise it might justly be said, this man, indeed, preaches against the licentiousness of Florence, but he is the courtier and the parasite of him who is its leader ; he, indeed, denounces vice, but he receives gifts from its patron ; if, indeed, he seeks to reform society, let him begin with its apex ; let him show that his eloquence does not basely flatter the leader whilst it scathes his followers. Under these circumstances Jerome determined on a line of conduct consistent alike with justice and prudence ; he knew that to remonstrate with Lorenzo would be vain ; he could not flatter him ; he resolved to be silent and to avoid him. And when the brethren remonstrated with him, he answered, "Who has elected me prior ? God or Lorenzo ?" to which they replied, "God." Then said he, "It is, my Lord, my God whom I wish to thank, not mortal men." Yet it is remarkable that he is not accused even by his enemies of a word of invective against Lorenzo ; and it was only when the latter, who could not bear the implied censure of Jerome's silence, had sent to him again and again to corrupt or threaten him, that he uttered to Lorenzo's five friends the memorable words, "Say to Lorenzo di Medici, that he is a Florentine, and the first man in the city, and I am a stranger, and a poor friar. Nevertheless, tell him that it is he who has to go from hence, and that it is I who have to stay. He shall go, and I shall remain."

There is another point in Jerome's relations to the Medici which we have as yet only lightly touched upon. It is his opinion of the authority they claimed in Florence. Born and reared in a free state, and nurtured in the doctrine of St. Thomas, who set so high a value on freedom and free institutions, Jerome esteemed freedom as the highest earthly blessing, and valued a free government as the noblest of human institutions, and the most calculated to make men virtuous and happy here, and to promote, indirectly indeed, but powerfully, what he valued above all earthly things, their eternal happiness. Yet he had seen the free institutions of Florence gradually undermined and destroyed by the Medici, and a despotism of corruption substituted in their place. It is difficult enough, at this distance of time, to trace accurately the steps of this process; but it is tolerably clear that at the time of the siege of Volterra, 1475, a free government still existed in Florence; and that the institution of the council of Seventy by Lorenzo some years before his death, in 1492, by changing the fundamental law of the republic, was the death-blow of its freedom. What was Jerome's conduct during this time? Whilst he withheld, as we have seen, from a formal acknowledgment of the authority of Lorenzo, he, at the same time, refrained from taking any part against it, and confined himself to the immediate duties of his ministry. But other times were approaching in which it would be impossible for him to preserve this neutrality; and it may be as well to examine what were his opinions with regard to clerics taking part in politics. Dr. Madden has expressed his own views on the matter in the form of a series of interrogations (vol. i. p. 214), and they are plainly the same as Jerome held. That whilst the interference in political affairs of ecclesiastics and religious for party purposes, for the sake of notoriety, for the sake of popularity, for the sake of gain, is utterly incompatible with their vocation, and whilst, under ordinary circumstances, they should confine themselves to the more special duties of their ministry, and leave the cares of government to its secular ministers, interfering only by their counsels in favour of humanity, justice, and the interests of the poor, yet that at all times their interference in matters which concern religion and the eternal welfare of the people, is a duty; and that circumstances may and do arise which may

render their direct interference even in affairs of secular government, not only lawful, but obligatory.

Far other are the opinions of those who would, in modern fashionable language, relegate the action of religion and its ministers to a purely spiritual sphere, forgetting that in this mixed world there is no such sphere of action, and that this would be, in fact, to deliver over the government of the world and of men to the spirit of evil, forgetting that usurpation and tyranny are crimes ; that the enactment of unjust laws or the unjust administration of lawful ones are sins ; that it is the duty of religion and its ministers to direct the consciences of men ; and of conscience, to direct their acts as well with regard to governments and to nations as to individuals ; and that to banish religion from all government would be to banish conscience and justice. Far different were the opinions of Savonarola : he had shown under Lorenzo how he could submit in silence to the evils under which his country suffered, and content himself with praying for her welfare. But when, in 1494, Charles the Seventh, the victorious king of France, advanced against Florence, and Pietro de Medici, who had succeeded to the usurped authority of his father, and had, by entering into an alliance against the French king, drawn his anger on the city, endeavoured to conciliate to himself Charles by abandoning the Florentines, and surrendering five of their strongest fortresses to him, then, indeed, Jerome threw himself into the breach, or, in the words of Scripture, *subvenit ruinæ populi sui*. (Madden and Marchese.) The French were advancing rapidly against Florence, when the magistracy, in their distress, turned their eyes on him who had foretold their present misfortunes, and besought Jerome to go on an embassy to Charles, to make terms for the devoted city ; he consented, and such was his first interference in politics. Subsequently, when Pietro de Medici, after concluding his traitorous treaty with Charles, by which he agreed to betray to him the Florentine fortresses (hoping in return to be supported in making himself tyrant of Florence), returned to the city he had betrayed, the indignant people expelled him, and sacked his palace, recalled the Pazzi and Neroni, and restored their ancient form of republican government. In all these tumults Jerome took no part (Madden, vol. i. p. 205) ; but when the French king returned to Florence, and that city was again menaced

with destruction, he exerted himself to call the people to repentance, and to plead their cause with Charles. How in the hour of her sorest need the poor friar stood between his country and destruction, is so well told by Dr. Madden that we must give it in his own words. Charles had determined to give up Florence to be sacked by his soldiers during the night ; it was within two hours of the appointed time, when the Signoria learned the dreadful news. Stunned and bewildered, they were as men deprived of judgment, till some one suggested, "Go to the servant of God, Fra Girolamo." Instantly they hastened to the convent of St. Mark, although it was advanced in the night, to beseech him to devise some means of saving the unconscious citizens from impending death.

"There was one person, whoever it is to be believed, was not altogether unconscious of that danger, not apprised of it, like Capponi, by mortal man, and that person was praying to God to avert it. When the deputation arrived, Savonarola with his brethren were praying in the choir. Desiring them to continue in prayer, and taking for his companion Fra T. Bussini, he proceeded immediately to the palace of the Medici, where the king lodged, and having arrived at the entrance of the palace, he encountered the first sentinel, who said to him, 'Where are you going ? Go back, you cannot enter here or have an audience.' The barons who were about the king had directed that no one should enter, in order that their designs might not be interrupted. The father then seeing that it was impossible to gain admission, and that the time was spent in vain, quickly returned to the convent, and gave himself up with great fervour and concentration of spirit to prayer. After some time he felt himself inwardly illuminated, and with the ears of the heart he heard a voice, saying, 'Return ! return ! you shall enter.' Turning to his companion (the friar) he said, 'Let us go back to the palace, for there I have to confer with the king.' The citizens who were present wondered very much at this. They returned with him to the palace, where the king was. The father advanced to the entrance alone ; he was at once admitted, and quickly passing the second and third sentinel, he was conducted before the king, who was in his chamber, all armed, and ready to put in execution his most nefarious design. When he observed the servant of God, he looked at him for a little, and, according to the custom of the kings of France, he rose up to salute him. The servant of God took a small crucifix which he always carried about him, and advancing, he held it up to the lips of the king, saying, 'This represents the Christ who made heaven and earth ; respect not me, but respect Him. He is the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who causes the earth to tremble, and gives victory to princes according to His plea-

sure and His justice. He punishes and brings ruin on impious and unjust kings, and will destroy you and all your army if you do not desist from such cruelty as you meditate, and abandon the design you have formed against this city. Otherwise, there being in this city so many friends and servants of God, and so many innocent souls engaged night and day in praising His Majesty, their cries will ascend to the throne of God, and confusion and destruction will fall on all your army. Let it suffice you to have the hearts of the Florentines. Leave, then, your most cruel and impious purpose, meditated against an innocent and most faithful people.' This and more said he, and with such ardour and efficacy did he speak, that those present were filled with dread. The king, with his ministers, began to weep."—(Madden, vol. i. p. 206.—We have a little abridged the passage.)

Florence was saved. And we may well believe that within her walls that night there were none found to speak of the unlawfulness of religious men interfering in secular affairs. Florence was now, however, almost without a government; the ancient constitution had perished under the Medici, and the times were little propitious to the growth of a stable government. Something however must be done, and in their trouble the new magistrates turned to Savonarola, and besought his advice. He believed the pressing need of the new republic justified him in mixing in her secular affairs; and from this time forth he was ever engaged, more or less, in aiding in the government of the city by his counsels, although he never held any office. It is difficult to form an impartial opinion on the prudence of the steps he advocated; that he was ever guided by a sense of justice is clear; that his reforms were extreme is probable; certain it is that the enemies of Florentine freedom ever considered Jerome as their greatest obstacle, and his destruction essential to its subjugation; and there is every reason to believe their opinion well founded. It is also worthy of remark, that those who desired the destruction of the Florentine liberties, sought to attain their object by urging the doctrine that all interference in secular affairs was strictly forbidden to religious men; "those who would ravage the sheep-fold," as Jerome said, sought to muzzle the dogs." Thus, when in the Gonfalonièreship of Filippo Corbizzi, Jerome was accused before the Signoria, he was accused, not of having preached false doctrine, but of having meddled in the civil government of that city—a thing

which they affirmed from the authority of the sacred Scriptures and the fathers was strictly prohibited to the ministers of the sanctuary."—(Marchese, p. 117.) Jerome's answer was triumphant. He began by reminding them that in every age religious men had, in time of need, interfered, where charity required it, in secular affairs. That in the thirteenth century brother Nicholas Malabranca had been sent by Pope Nicholas III. as ambassador to the Florentines, and had done much service to the city; that in the fourteenth St. Catherine of Sienna had, at the urgent request of the magistracy and whole commonwealth of Florence, gone as their ambassador to the Pope at Avignon; nay, that a very few years before, their sainted Archbishop, St. Antoninus, had himself interfered in the government of their city. He pointed out how he himself had interfered only when called upon by the magistracy and the people in their need; and he recalled to their recollection that fearful night in which destruction hung over their city; when their magistrates were as men without counsel, and their strong men were as water, and asked who there was that then spoke of the unlawfulness of his interference in secular affairs. Alas! this theory of modern liberalism, of the relegation of religion to its own domain, and its banishment from all interference in secular government is nothing new. King John no doubt held the interference of Archbishop Langton, at Runnymede, to be most pernicious meddling of ecclesiastics in secular government; no doubt the emperor, Henry IV., of Germany, when he wanted to divorce his wife, and oppress his vassals, considered the interference of the Pope a mischievous interference with his prerogative: and now the doctrine comes back to us from republican America, where we hear of relegating the ministers of religion to their own sphere, and prohibiting their taking any part in secular affairs, lest they may denounce the iniquities of slavery, or canvass the obligation of laws made by the secular authority "in its own sphere," which violate the laws of God.

The gravest question for Catholics with regard to Savonarola, and the one which has given rise to most controversy, is his opposition to Pope Alexander the Sixth. In discussing his conduct in relation to this Pontiff, it is most necessary to distinguish accurately the different transactions, and, so to speak, steps of the proceeding, so as to

separate those portions of Jerome's conduct which are clearly blameless from those that are of doubtful correctness; and again, the latter from such as may be considered deserving of blame; and finally, in regard to the whole, it is never to be forgotten that most unusual allowance must be made for actions occurring in a state of things such as the Church had never before seen, and such as we trust, in the mercy of God, she may never see again.

As to two modern writers against whose attacks Dr. Madden defends Savonarola, we think argument is scarcely needed. Mr. Brownson, with the dogmatism which characterizes his writings, and which led him to brand, of his own mere authority, as heretical, the writings of one of the greatest of modern divines,\* although those writings had passed unscathed the ordeal of Rome, has in one sentence declared that "Savonarola lost his faith and virtue;" yet as he does not condescend to adduce any proof when he thus calumniates the dead, and as the infallibility of the "Quarterly" is not recognized at least on this side of the Atlantic, we may be content to hold the same opinion as the humble St. Philip Neri, though it differs from that of the great editor of the "Quarterly."

As to Mr. Brownson's dictum, that he "has yet to see full evidence that any pope, after he became pope, was a very bad man," of course it is incontrovertible, for he adds, with regard to the testimony, or what he calls the concessions, of certain Catholic historians, "we protested against them as unwarranted by the facts of the case." Now the testimony which he thus rejects is the evidence of contemporary Catholic historians, as to the facts which occurred within their own knowledge, and, of course, if Mr. Brownson knows what occurred in their own days better than Machiavelli, Corio, Burchardt, Mirandola, Julian del Rovere, and others, there is no disputing his conclusions, he is at once evidence and judge. Besides, who shall say what Mr. Brownson would consider a *very bad man*. To be sure his contemporaries unanimously accuse Alexander the Sixth of simony, but even were he to admit for a moment their evidence as to the fact, he might deny that that would prove him a *very bad man*.

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\* Dr. Newman.

As to Rohrbacher and Jorry's\* sort of half defence of Alexander the Sixth, and semi-condemnation of Jerome, they hardly needed notice ; both these writers, with that timid charity which shrinks from calling vice in high places by its true name, speak of Alexander with bated breath and ambiguous phrases. Rohrbacher, after mentioning his crimes, says, "la conduite d'Alexander VI. n'étais pas bien edifiante." Jorry says, "But even if Alexander the Sixth had all the vices with which he had been charged, these vices would be counterbalanced to a certain extent by the brilliant qualities which distinguished him." Alas ! brilliant qualities will avail little at the judgment seat of God to palliate crimes. But as neither of these writers seriously discuss the facts of the history, or bring forward any specific charges against Jerome, their testimony is of little weight.

With regard to the accusations against Jerome, that he attacked the Pope in his writings, and denounced the vices which disgraced the court of Rome, we need not seek for a precedent and a defence. Respect to the office of chief pastor has never prevented the servants of God from admonishing, and that with an apostolic freedom, the successors of St. Peter of their short-comings. What can be more pointed than the remonstrances of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius the Fourth.

"Where shall I begin ?" he says in one place. "I will begin with your worldly affairs, because it is with regard to this I participate most deeply in your grief, if indeed it be a grief to you; and if not, then is my sorrow only the greater, since the disease is even the more perilous for him by whom the sickness is not felt. What can be at once more slavish and more unseeming a Pope, than to be employed, not only every day, but every hour, in such matters and for such men ?"†

Similar was the language held by the blessed James da Todi to Boniface the Eighth ; even sterner were the remonstrances of St. Catherine of Sienna to Gregory the Eleventh, and Urban the Sixth. Nay, in Jerome's own lifetime the blessed Colomba da Rieti wrote in a strain of stern expostulation to Alexander the Sixth. Yet could Jerome safely say that in preaching against vice he had

\* See Madden, vol. i. p. 182 et seq.

+ Ap. Madden, vol. i. p. 359.

never forgotten the regard due to the person of the Pontiff, or to his office, and that respect he repeatedly expresses in his correspondence with Alexander the Sixth, as may be seen in the extracts given by Dr. Madden.

When Alexander first interfered in reference to the conduct of Jerome in Florence, he contented himself with requiring him to come to Rome to answer certain charges which had been made against him, on the score of novelty in his style of preaching, and this citation Jerome professed himself ready to obey, although at the same time he gave some reasons why it would not be safe for him at the time to undertake that journey; with these reasons Alexander declared himself satisfied, and allowed Jerome to continue preaching.\* And it is here well to observe that Jerome never disputed the authority of the Church in morals as well as in faith, and of the Pope as its head: this is evident from many passages, as well as the following taken from his latest work.

"Ne si puo dire rationabilmente che Christo sia cosi capo della chiesa, che essendo asceso in cielo la habbia lasciata in terra, sensa altro capo, perche da questo ne nasceria grande divisione et confusione in ipsa: perche le varie opinioni circa la fede e circa il ben vivere Christiano non si potria determinare, non si sapiendo a quale sententia si avessi a stare."—*Triumphus Crucis*.

"Nor can it reasonably be said, that Christ is in such a sense the head of the Church; that ascending into heaven, He left it on earth without other head, for from this great divisions and confusion would arise in it, because the various opinions concerning matters of faith and of *Christian morals* could not be decided, since it could not be known what decision should be followed."

And again from his letter to Alexander.

"Dignetur sanctitas vestra mihi communicare quod ex omnibus que dixi et scripsi sit revocabundum, et ego et libentissime faciam, nam hac vice et semper, ut dixi et scripsi me ipsum et omnia mea dicta subjicio correctioni."†

"Let your Holiness deign to inform me, what of all which I have spoken or written should be recalled, and most willingly will I recal it; for now and always, as I have said and written, I submit myself and all that I have ever said to correction."

This was in 1496, and licence was given him by the Pope to preach the Lent of that year in Florence; this

\* See Madden, vol. i. p. 417.

† Hist. Savon. ap. Madden, vol. i. p. 419.

licence was some months after withdrawn, and in October 1496 he received another citation to Rome, and a brief was addressed to the superiors of St. Mark's, stating that authority had been given to the vicar general of the Lombard congregation of his order, to inquire into the matter, but that in the meantime Jerome was to abstain from preaching. Jerome had, however, in the meantime learned much that tended to change his opinion of Alexander the Sixth. He had formerly looked on him as the undoubted successor of St. Peter, and his authority as indisputable, although in his, Jerome's, own case, Alexander was misinformed and unjust. But he learned from the cardinal of St. Peter in vinculis, Julian del Rovere, that grave doubts were entertained of the validity of Alexander's election, that there was undoubted evidence of its having been procured by simony,\* and that he and many other cardinals were seeking his deposition as unduly elected, and were for this purpose labouring to have a general council called. Jerome was easily led to embrace these views; he saw the evil under which the Church groaned, he could see no appropriate remedy, and he was induced to write letters to the emperor of Germany, to the kings of France, Spain, England, and Hungary, urging them to depose Alexander the Sixth, and, at the same time, he persuaded himself that he was not bound to obey the commands of one whom he looked on as no true pope. We are not seeking to justify Jerome's conduct in these matters, we are only pointing out the circumstances which seemed to justify it in his own eyes, and which forms a palliation such as no other case perhaps can present. In truth, had the election of Alexander the Sixth been originally void for simony, it would be difficult to say that it had not been ratified by the subsequent consent of the cardinals; and the Cardinal del Rovere and his friends seem to have tacitly admitted this, as on their supposition that Alexander never was duly elected, the chair of Peter was vacant, and the cardinals might at once proceed to a new election, a proceeding which they never ventured to propose. On the other hand, as the Pope alone can summon a general council, no council called by the princes could lawfully depose Alexander.

\* Cardinal del Rovere, when himself Pope under the title of Julius III., obtained a decree to be passed, declaring any election to the Papacy, vitiated by simony, to be void ab initio.

But above all, as no individual may lawfully disobey the commands of a duly constituted authority, nor even those of an authority which, however defective, *bona fide* exists, although he may seek to have its incompetency declared, Jerome was clearly bound to obey the prohibition to preach, until either Alexander could be got to retract it, or until he were lawfully deposed. Our opinion, then, fully coincides with that of the learned father Marchese, where he sums up by saying,

"Adunque il giorno 11 di Febrajo, 1497, domenica della settuagesima Fra Girolamo, con aperto trapassamento d'un divieto, che comunque fosse ei dovea sempre rispettare, ascese nuovamente il pergamino di S. Maria del fiore."—p. 140.

"Thus, the 11th of February, 1497, Septuagesima Sunday, Fra Girolamo, in open violation of a command that he should, under every circumstance, have respected, ascended anew the pulpit of Sta Maria del fiore."

This was the one fault of which he was guilty, and it was only when, in consequence of his ceasing to preach, vice had again raised its head in Florence, and at the urgent request of the Signoria that he thus violated the duty of obedience; and as Paulus Bernardinus, in his defence of Savonarola, justly remarks, he could not be accounted a schismatic, as he never denied the supreme authority of the Pope, but at the most as pertinacious and obstinate.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain with perfect exactness all the grounds upon which Jerome himself would have sought to justify his disregard of the prohibition to preach. When he was on his pretended trial, he was not asked for any defence on this head, since even if he admitted his error in this matter, it would not have justified his death, and his enemies, who sought his blood, were contented with such charges only as, (though false,) were calculated to ensure his destruction. It is very remarkable that the only fault which could justly be charged on Jerome, seems hardly to have been alluded to in his process of condemnation. We are, therefore, left to gather his own defence from the expressions he used in his sermons subsequent to that fatal Septuagesima. From all these we plainly see that he felt the difficulty of defending himself, but that at the same time he was worked up to such a state of excitement, that he no longer judged coolly

his own position. In several instances he alludes to the invalidity of Alexander's authority as a ground for disregarding it. (Madden, vol. i, pp. 432-9.) Again, he alleges that the Pope's sentence being manifestly founded on misrepresentation, might be considered as null, (Sermon of 18th Feb., 1498. Madden, p. 440,) overlooking the fact that the permission to disregard the orders of authority when manifestly founded on a mistake, only applies to cases of necessity, and until the authority can be informed of its error. In this sermon, and also in the one preached on the text "Etenim opportet obedire Deo magis quam hominibus," (Madden, p. 424,) he rests his defence on other ground; he says, "On all occasions when it can be obviously seen that the commands of superiors are contrary to the commandments of God, and especially the precepts of charity, none should obey in such a case." It was, however, a manifestly forced interpretation, to allege that the command not to preach was contrary to the commandments of God, or that there was any positive obligation of charity to preach in opposition to authority. Fourthly, in the sermon of the 18th May, (Madden, p. 428,) he rests his defence on the direct internal command of God.

"Know, then, that I have ascended the pulpit to obey Him who is the Prelate of all prelates, the Supreme Pontiff of all Popes, and who makes known to me what is contrary to His will, and in nature opposed to it."

This is a ground which in his cooler judgment Jerome himself would have condemned; it was a claim to a particular inspiration, which could not be sustained, and which was disproved by the very fact of the admissions extorted from him by the torture of the rack, since had he been directly inspired by God, God would not have suffered human weakness to retract one word of that which He had directly inspired.

But whilst we thus admit Jerome's fault of disobedience, it must never be forgotten that it was not for this that he was condemned and burnt on the piazza of the Pallazzo Vecchio, that it was on false accusations of heresy and schism, and on perjured testimony and the falsified documents forged by the notary, Francesco de Arone, and that, therefore, the guilt of all concerned in his death is not the least diminished, nor the sentence

pronounced against him one whit less unjust and unfounded.

The latter part of Dr. Madden's twenty-first chapter (vol. 1.) is employed in examining the lawfulness of Savonarola's opposition to the excommunication. And "in stating the opinions of Catholic persons of high authority on the subject of the power exercised by the Popes in regard to excommunication, and the right of questioning or resisting that power," unfortunately he mixes up with it a deal of utterly irrelevant matter relating to a wholly different subject, the infallibility of the Church, of general councils, and of popes in relation to matters of faith, and this very loosely selected, from the popular explanations of Dr. Doyle, in his essay on the Catholic Claims, and the scholastic treatises of Melchior Cano, and Devoti. With similar looseness of reasoning he says of Alexander the Sixth, that his "was an authority, but was it of that kind which St. Paul deems entitled to obedience?" And then quotes, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God. ——obey your prelates and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls." But immediately adds, "St. Paul's idea of the qualities which a bishop should possess is expressed in the following sentence:—

"For a bishop must be without crime, as the steward of God; not proud, not subject to anger, not given to wine, no striker, nor greedy of filthy lucre."—vol. i. p. 446.

Now what does Dr. Madden mean by this passage? To give it any consecutive meaning, and make it correlative and an answer to the first sentence, "was Alexander's an authority such as St. Paul deems entitled to obedience?" We must supply (as we are sure ninety-nine readers out of every hundred will do in their own minds,) the logical copula, and read it; St. Paul orders us to obey the authority of our prelates, but only if they fulfil the description of a bishop given in the latter passage. Dr. Madden will probably protest against this interpretation of his meaning, as one which would justify any ill-disposed subject in disobeying his bishop, since he would always allege that he did not fulfil the description given to Timothy; but he must see that his loose and enigmatical

way of expressing himself leads necessarily to this inference, however earnestly he may disavow it.

The subject of the alleged prophecies of Savonarola is one of extreme difficulty ; of course we do not mean for those who decide all such questions by the à priori argument of impossibility, but for those who believe that God does sometimes reveal to his chosen servants more or less knowledge of future events. Savonarola himself speaks in different places of his own allusions to future events in various ways. In some instances he speaks of them as being rather the conclusions of enlightened reason. In others, especially in the prologue to the *Compendio di Rivelazioni*, he claims for them the authenticity of true prophecies. Yet, at the same time, as Dr. Madden points out, (vol. i. p. 315) he includes in this same book the vision of heaven, which he clearly intends to be received as a work of the imagination although directed by God.

It is clear that our opinion of Jerome's moral character and sanctity need not be at all influenced by any conclusions we may come to as to his prophecies. Whether they were all the work of direct inspiration, or the effect of a fervid and exalted imagination, and founded on a mistake, although a sincere and bonâ fide one, or whether they were partly the one and partly the other. Whether he was sometimes permitted by God a foreknowledge of future events, although at other times he mistook the aspirations and wishes of a pious mind for inspiration, may be doubtful ; but it is clear that his piety was sincere and his zeal fervid—that he was raised up by God for mighty purposes to bear testimony against a corrupt and carnal age ; and that truth he upheld to his last breath. The Church, even in the case of canonized saints, has ever refrained from pronouncing any decision as to their alleged revelations. And we need only give as an example St. Catherine of Sweden, in whose revelations Cardinal Turrecremata, who himself promoted the process of her canonization, pointed out two grave errors.\* It seems however to us that no one can carefully examine the evidence without being convinced that in many instances Jerome really foretold future events, notably in regard to the death of Lorenzo de Medici, the events of the French king's expedition, and his own death. Whilst in other instances he seems to have laid too

\* See Alban Butler and the Bollandists on the 8th of October.

much stress on the general insight which was given him of the wars about to fall on Italy and on the Church, and of her future reformation. But, indeed, the time in which he lived was such as to task the strongest intellect and the firmest faith. And well might he strive to look forward to the future for light when the present closed so dark around. Well might he turn to read and expound with ardent longings the prophecies which told of the Church's never failing life and perpetual renovation, when he saw so many of her ministers around him sunk in vice, and simony enthroned on the chair of Peter. The *Compendio di Revelazioni* was published in 1495, when he already foresaw the storm which was gathering against him, and when the fiery death which had been present to his mind for years was imminent, and the gibbet already flung its black shadows over him.\*

In 1498 his last exhortation to penance was heard ; his last mournful lamentation over that Florence which he had sought so long to arouse to a sense of the divine justice, was uttered. The end approached ; in his own words, God having used it, was about to lay aside the hammer of his justice,† or rather, he was about to purify by trial and by fire his chosen instrument from human frailties, from human weaknesses, and granting him the grace to bear the testimony of blood, and by that testimony to wash out "whatever through the frailty of the flesh he had committed in human conversation," to take him to Himself.

On the night of Sunday, the 7th April, 1498, the convent of St. Mark was assailed by a lawless mob, encou-

\* He explicitly foretold his own death in a sermon in 1490, and in 1491 ; expounding the psalm 'Expectans expectavi Dominum,' he said : "The wicked will come to the sanctuary with fire and sword, and will break and burn the doors ; and they will seize on the just, and in the principal place in the city they will burn them. And the remains of them which the fire shall not have consumed, nor the wind carried away, they will cast into the Arno."—Madden, vol. i. p. 318.

+ "Let the Lord do His work ; He is the master of the forge who handles the hammer, and when He has made use of it, lays it not on what He has wrought, but casts it from Him. Thus He did with Jeremiah, whom He permitted to be stoned to death when his preaching mission was accomplished, and thus also will He do with this hammer, when He has used it after His own manner."—Sermon of 18 March, 1498.

raged by the Signoria, and after a night of outrage and massacre, Jerome and Fra Domenico da Pescia, and Fra Silvestro Maruffi, were conducted prisoners before the magistrates of the Signoria, with a promise that they should be returned to their convent in safety *sani e salvi*. Before leaving his convent for the last time, Jerome addressed a fervent exhortation to the brethren.

“ ‘The road to heaven,’ he told them, ‘was by tribulations, and they were not on any account to allow themselves to be cast down; for himself, he was ready to suffer all things with alacrity and contentment for the love of his Lord Jesus Christ, knowing that a Christian life consisted in doing good and enduring evil.’ He then made his confession to Fra Domenico da Pescia in the library, and received the Blessed Sacrament at his hands. Fra Domenico then confessed to him, and likewise received the Sacrament.”—vol. ii. p. 53.

But we cannot afford space to dwell on all the horrors of the mock trial that ensued, the tortures inflicted on Jerome seven different times; the falsification of the answers of the accused by the notary Ceccone, and all the other steps of this unjust process. The animus of his judges may be gathered from two brief facts.

“ On the first assembling of the sixteen judges, one of them, named Francesco degli Albizi, though opposed to the friars, seeing the great malignity of the measures about to be taken against them, said ‘he would not stain his hands with the blood of the innocent.’ He went away from the assembly, and never returned to it.”..... “ When Romolino, one of the Pope’s agents, who was inclined to spare Fra Domenico, was urged by one of the Palleschi to include him in the sentence, he answered, ‘Un frataccio più, o un frataccio meno non importa, mandate lo pure alla morte.’ ”—“A monk more or a monk less matters little, off with him to the gallows too.”—(Burlamacchi, ap. Madden, vol. ii. p. 29 )

“ On the 22nd of May it was announced to Savonarola and his two companions that they were to die on the following day.” ..... “ While the condemned stood ranged at the foot of the cross that was erected in centre of the pile, Fra Domenico said to his companions, ‘ Why do you not call on me, and remind me (as of old) that I should sing the *Te Deum*?... The executioners now coming forward to do their office, the three fathers knelt down and prayed, each before his crucifix.....

“ Fra Sylvestro was the first to ascend the ladder. He did not speak, but tears stood in his eyes. When he had mounted sufficiently high, the executioner, having tied the rope that he had put round his neck to one of the arms of the cross, pushed him off the

ladder. And after he was suspended, an iron collar, that was fastened by a chain to the same arm of the cross, was put round his neck. The same course was pursued with Fra Domenico ; he was suspended from the other arm of the cross. Lastly, Fra Girolamo ascended the ladder with closed eyes, repeating the creed. When he reached the summit, however, he gazed all around on the ungrateful people who thronged the square. In a few seconds he was pushed from the ladder, being suspended in the middle between his two brethren."—vol. ii. p. 106.

So perished the last worthy son of free Florence. Padre Marchese concludes his account of the triumph of Savonarola over paganism in art and literature with the words :

"And now it sickens the soul to think that this solemn triumph, which he had achieved over the licentiousness of his age, should soon be followed by error and immorality. The partisans of the Medici, who were working for their restoration,—a ruler far more potent than the Medici, the libertine artists who batten on corruption, and who had fallen in popular esteem, the literary men, too, who could not tolerate the severe maxims of the friar,—all conspired and swore to effect Savonarola's overthrow. Then arose the sect of the Arrabbiati, who were the partisans of everything infamous, and who thirsted for vengeance. Foiled in their first attempts, they retired for a while to knit themselves more closely together ; and seizing the occasion of the disputation on May 23, 1498, they inaugurated their triumph. In that very square, and on that very pyre, whereon, a few months before, Savonarola had attempted to consume revived paganism, he was himself burned. Illustrious and hapless victim ! In thee was realized that aphorism of Machiavelli, ' Ill fares it with prophets who expose their unarmed breasts to the fury of factions.' But though his enemies destroyed his body, they could not destroy his memory, which has been honourably recorded by every writer who does not shrink from stating truth. For more than two centuries, on the anniversary of his death, the ground that drank his blood has been covered with garlands, and this will attest the veneration in which the friar is held, and prove that his grand precepts have not perished from the memory of the Florentines. Ten years after Savonarola's death on an ignominious scaffold, Raphael painted him amongst the doctors of the Catholic Church, in the halls of the Vatican, and this is his most splendid religious rehabilitation, the most luminous proof of his innocence, and the most convincing evidence of the perfidy of his persecutors. Julius II. charged Raphael to execute these grand works, and surely he would not have allowed an impious man, or one who outraged the honour of the Pontificate, to figure amongst the champions of the Church, in the 'disputation on the sacrament.' Mark how Julius proclaimed Savonarola's innocence : 'The death

of the friar preceded, by a few years, the death of the Republic.''"  
—Dominican Artists, trans., vol. i. p. 329.

Thus far we have gone with Dr. Madden through the life of Savonarola, and have endeavoured to give our readers the means of judging how far our conclusions, which are substantially the same as Dr. Madden's, are well founded. And before we quit this portion of the subject we feel it at once a duty and a pleasure to bear our willing testimony to the industry, research, and love of the truth displayed throughout the work. We may not, however, close our remarks on this work without briefly noticing Dr. Madden's opinions with regard to the connexion of Church and State, the possession of temporal states by the popes, the seat of the papacy, and some other questions of which he treats at considerable length ; and whilst, in some points, his statements are truisms, and in many we agree with him, in others he seems to us to use language calculated to convey erroneous impressions, chiefly from that fallacy of language which Dr. Whately has so ably analysed, the use of words in an ambiguous sense, or what logicians call an ambiguous or double middle term. Unfortunately this is an increasing evil in the writings of the present day, and especially in those which treat of subjects connected with religion, from the extreme vagueness of English popular notions on this subject. The subject to which Dr. Madden most frequently recurs, and to which he devotes two entire chapters, is the connexion between Church and State, and as it is a very popular one at the present day it may perhaps be well to devote some little space to endeavour to obtain clear ideas on the subject.

Dr. Madden states, in his preface, that one great object of his work is "to make the calamitous results to religion and its ministers, of connexion between Church and State manifest to the world as the sun at noon-day." In another place, "all experience demonstrates that the less sacerdotalised a church is, the more spiritual is its government and its teachers. All reasoning on the results of that experience leads to the conclusion that the more spiritualized is a church, the more likely must it be to be regarded with favour by its Divine Founder."—p. 6. Now what is meant by the connexion between Church and State ? Probably our readers will at once exclaim, "Oh,

every one knows that," yet it may be found that three or four different things are jumbled together by this phrase. Before, however, we proceed to answer this question we must obtain clear ideas of some words which are used with several, and therefore ambiguous meanings. One is *Church*, which is used in several senses as "the Church," meaning "the Church of Christ, consisting of all the faithful under one head, which is Christ, and His vicegerent here on earth," in this sense it applies only to the True Church, and is infallible, indefectible, and essentially independent of all human power, since no earthly power can bind the spouse of Christ: the word is also used to express the form of the Church's government on earth, and in this sense may be said to form a connexion with the State, and to receive favours from the latter, and to allow it to share in its temporal administration, as by the presentation to benefices, &c.: the word church is also used to express portions of the Universal Church and their local governments, as the Church of Milan, the Church of France: \* the word is often used also to express divers false religions, and thus we speak of the various Protestant Churches.

Another word which has various meanings is *religion*. It either means "the whole body of revealed truth," that is either true religion, apart from the professors of that truth, or is applied to bodies of doctrine which profess to be true as we speak of divers false religions; or it means *individual* or *personal religion*, that is, each man's sense of religion and personal piety, or, speaking collectively, of the religious sense of bodies of men: thus we say of such a man or people, that he or they have much religion, or very little religion, or that religion flourished in such a town, at such a period, or was at a very low ebb, meaning not that the truth ever changed, or is capable of more or less, but that the liveliness of each man's faith, or the fervour of his practice was greater or less. Now it is clear that the non-discrimination of these meanings must lead to the utmost confusion of both language and ideas, yet unfortunately, in Dr. Madden's work, they cannot in many instances be distinguished; thus, "the *spiritual power* in Italy, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

\* See Catechism of Council of Trent on the Ninth Article of the Creed.

in its various contests with the feudalism of those ages, wherever it was successful the material interests of the people were benefited by its protection, or the domination of its influence. But whether *the Church* itself benefited by its intervention in the political affairs of States."—p. 22.

"There is a great moral in the lesson of the life and death of Girolamo Savonarola, which deeply concerns the interests of Christianity, the interests of the members of *all churches*, the interests, temporal and eternal, of all men who believe in the Gospel, and think that divine revelation was intended to promote the good of all grades of society, to advance the glory of God, to separate *His Church* from the worship of Mammon, and to preserve religion from all corrupting influences and connexions inimical to its purity, simplicity, and independence."

"It seems to be generally felt by the Christian world, that *religion* has been too long and too closely connected with the State, and that the protection it has afforded has not been beneficial to *religion*, to morality, or even to the civil rights of any people where *the Church* has been thus connected and enslaved."—p. 103.

"*The Church* was instituted to establish a new dominion of mercy ..... strife and selfishness disappeared before the face of *that new Church* at the onset of its career, and of its ministry in their early triumphs..... But selfishness in course of time crept into the *Church*, and with its progress *religion* went on losing its spirituality."—p. 195.\*

Now if we glance back over these various passages, (and they might be much multiplied,) we shall easily perceive

\* In this page Dr. Madden expresses an error which he does not mean ; he says, "In the darkest periods of the history of that Church, there was ever a voice to be heard in some part of its precincts, within its sanctuary, or in its cloisters, or at its porch..... The truth is never without some illustrious witness, &c." This is the error of those Protestants who support the theory of an invisible Church, and allege that at different times the truth was held and borne witness to only by individuals. The whole Church of Christ has ever held, testified to, and preached the whole body of revealed doctrinal truth ; otherwise she would have failed : what Dr. Madden means is, that there never wanted individuals in the Church who protested against and laboured to extirpate corruptions of practice, decay of zeal, and evils in the administration of the Church.

that throughout them the words "church," "religion," and those used for them, "spiritual power," "Christianity," are used indiscriminately in all the senses we have shewn they bear, sometimes with one meaning, sometimes with another, sometimes with a doubtful or double meaning. In the second extract "Christianity," and the third extract "the Church was instituted," the word is evidently used in its first meaning; immediately after, the words "that new Church," seem rather to imply the third meaning; in the second extract the words "all Churches," the word is evidently used in the fourth sense, whilst throughout all the extracts, the first and second meanings are confused and interchanged. The ambiguity is evident in the use of the word religion, nor is it more clear what definite meaning Dr. Madden attaches to the word "secularised."

If now, we revert to our question, "what is meant by the connexion between Church and State?" we shall perceive that it involves several distinct ideas, and that the view we take of the matter must intimately depend on what our belief is with regard to the nature and being of the Church, using the word in its first sense. Thus the extreme view on the one hand is that of Dr. Arnold, who held that the functions of the Church and the State were inseparable, and in fact identical, that the State was entitled to demand conformity from its subjects, and bound to provide them with a religion; in fact, that a rightly governed State was the authorised authority in religion. In such a theory, of course, the connexion between Church and State was not only lawful, but necessary, or rather it was only another mode of expressing the identity of the institution,\* and followed logically from Arnold's view of the Church. This view must, to a certain extent, influence also the opinions of all consistent members of the Church of England; by the royal supremacy, the Church and State in their highest power are identified; the Church and State then, in the person of the queen, are not so much connected as identical. On the other hand, those who believe in personal religion, but not in the existence of the Church, that is, who believe religion to be purely subjective, and each man to be an independent guide to himself, reject the idea not only of all community, but of any

\* See Arnold's Lectures on Modern History.

relation between the State and any aggregate of religious individuals, which is their idea of a religious body or of a Church. With them, every man is a law unto himself; there is for them no Church with a law of its own, (which may or may not clash with the laws framed by a local State), with a power to command or forbid, independent of, and it may be in opposition to any State.

With Catholics the question is necessarily viewed in a different light from either of these. They believe the Church of Christ to be one compact body, not only with a law of its own, but with a governing power of its own, essentially independent, and to use a technical word, autonomous.\* It exists locally in states, but is independent of them, and its law binds its members antecedently and with a superior obligation to the positive law of any state: true these two laws never ought to clash, and, in fact, do not very frequently come into collision; but this does not change their independent nature. It is to be observed that this view of the Church embraces both the first meaning we have assigned to the word Church; "all the faithful under one head," with its immutable law of faith and morals, and also the second meaning of the government of the Church, in as far as it is essentially the government of the Church (apart from any external accidents) with its laws of discipline.† If we reflect for a moment on this idea of the nature of the Church, and couple it with that of the nature of a state, we shall at once perceive that they must necessarily have many relations, the one with the other. These relations may be friendly or the reverse; but they must exist, for they follow from the nature of the objects. The Church had relations with the state, in the Roman empire, when it bade the thundering legion not only fight but pray for the success of the empire; and again, when it bade that same legion submit to an unjust sentence. It had relations with that same Roman empire when it forbade those

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\* "With a right to govern itself."

† "As far as it is essentially the government of the Church." Thus the office of a bishop is essentially the governing the Church, but his local position, external power, &c., are accidents, though, it may be, accidents intimately connected with his office. Again, the creation of a bishop is essentially within the power of the Church; a power which she cannot delegate to any other authority; but she may suffer herself to be guided as to whom she will create a bishop by external accidents.

who were at once its subjects and those of Nero to offer incense, though the laws of the State commanded them to do so ; and when it ordered the consecrated virgins to preserve their chastity, although those to whom the temporal laws gave their disposal had bestowed them in marriage. And again, the Church had relations with that same empire, when, become Christian, the State forbade any, whether relations or otherwise, to molest the sacred virgins; and when it exempted the ministers of religion, who might not lawfully handle arms, from the obligation of the conscription. The Church and the State must have many relations the one to the other ; it depends on the latter whether they shall be friendly or not. If they be friendly, this constitutes, in its widest sense, a connexion between Church and State : and the more closely and carefully the question is studied, the more intimate will appear this necessary connexion between Church and State. There is hardly a subject of legislation which does not trench, mediately or immediately, on the domain of the Church. The State may pass a law compelling all her subjects in turn to defend her in war, whilst the Church forbids her ministers to mix in deadly strife ; or the Church may confide the government of a portion of her flock within a state to one whom that state has for just reasons prohibited from entering into her territory. We might load our pages with examples ; but the instance of Ireland during the last fifty years, is the clearest proof how almost all legislation involves the connection of Church and State.

There is another species of connexion between Church and State ; it is the union, more or less perfect, of the functions of the State with those of the Church, in the same person or body. This connection is not like the former, essential and natural : it is adventitious, and may or may not be productive of good, either to the one function or the other in the particular instances. To this class are referable all instances of the interference of ecclesiastical characters in *purely secular affairs*.<sup>\*</sup> This was very common in the middle ages, a circumstance arising from

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\* In purely secular affairs ; for in all matters which, though temporal in their outward form, affect religion, the Church must intervene, as in the instances given above from the Roman empire ; and in all matters where a question of right or wrong arises, her influence must equally intervene.

many causes, amongst which the chief were the intimate connexion in a simple state of society between all political and religious questions ; and the dearth of the knowledge necessary for government amongst laics ; the results (whilst not unfrequently injurious to the ecclesiastical functions of the government) were almost invariably beneficial to the State. It is, however, manifest that this mixing up of two duties, this mingling of two functions must be injurious to the adequate discharge of one or other ; and the one which suffered was almost invariably the Church. The ministers of the Church had been set specially aside, that they might devote their whole energies to her service, and every assumption of other duties was an abandonment of their first charge. But there was a much greater evil which sprang from this source. Those who governed the Church assumed the functions of the State ; those who governed the State strove in turn to assume the functions of governing the Church. The State has always been ready enough to interfere with the proper action of the Church ; but this gave her additional pretexts and additional power to do so. The State frequently conferred favours on the Church, and these favours\* are in themselves indifferent, nay, the Church may be bound to accept them ; but in return the State almost invariably seeks to control the government of the Church, to fetter her action, to tamper with her independence, and then the favours of the State are snares, and her blandishments temptations.

This latter connexion of Church and State is a fair subject of discussion, and perhaps most will unite in reprobating it ; certainly we are no advocates for it, but it is not to be confounded, as is generally done, and, as we fear, would be the inference drawn from Dr. Madden's work, with the first explained connexion between Church and State, which is founded on nature, and inherent in the constitution of each. Neither is the freedom and independance of the Church to be confounded, with its isolation, and, so to speak, sequestration. We have had occasion before in this article to point out this distinction, and may recur to it again. Another point, which must not be confounded with

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\* Every act by which the State recognises the Church is in some sense a favour, such as the exemption of ecclesiastics from conscription, recognition of celibacy, exemption of fabrics of churches from taxation.

these essentials, is the question of pecuniary support for religion, one indeed, intimately connected with, but yet essentially distinct from that of the independence of, and separation from secular affairs of the Church. It is the intermingling and confusion of all these various questions which makes the whole ambiguity in the public mind at the present day, and which unfortunately prevails also in Dr. Madden's work. To make what we mean clearer, we will separate a sentence of Dr. Madden's into its parts, distinguishing the essential doctrine from its adventitious circumstances or collateral aids.

"The doctrine of the necessity for the independence of religion, and the full and unfettered right of every Church to carry out its own ecclesiastical government without any interference of the civil power."

Here is the essential doctrine clear and correct. But in the same sentence are mixed up with strange want of logic, ".....the separation of the clergy from political cares, from state influences, and pecuniary obligations to governments, the support of all Churches to the voluntary contributions of those who belong to them." If by "the separation of the clergy from political cares" be meant their withdrawal from purely secular matters, and the confining their influence and their action in public affairs to the purely religious view of them, and to enforcing the essential distinction of right and wrong, the meaning is laudable, though the distinction may, in some instances, be difficult to be drawn; and there can be no hesitation in assenting to the wish for the freedom of the clergy from State influences and pecuniary obligations to governments, meaning thereby all those thousand arts by which the State so often seeks to make religion her tool.

But if by the separation of the clergy from political cares he meant that they shall not be allowed to preach the command to do the right, because it be displeasing to the powers that be, or to denounce a wrong because it is inflicted by political authority; to call robbing and spoliation a sin, because perpetrated under the sanction of law, or to appoint pastors to the flock of Christ, because it be prohibited by human enactments; all Christians must repudiate such a doctrine as reversing the command to obey God rather than man.\*

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\* To prove that such is too often the interpretation sought to be

There remains an important question, and one which we have purposely reserved for a separate consideration,—it is the pecuniary support of religion and of the clergy. It is one which well deserves a serious and enlarged consideration, one which cannot be determined by any Procrustean formula, but which must be considered in its historic bearings as well as in its modern aspect, and must be separately determined in the widely differing cases of various countries.

If we take England for an example, and examine the history of the means of support afforded to the clergy from the earliest ages, we shall find that the first provision for their clergy, amongst the Anglo-Saxons, was derived from the piety and liberality of individuals. Gifts of land were the usual mode of rewarding merit, and numerous manors were given for the support of the various churches. Ethelbert of Kent set the example, and it was almost universally followed, till in every estate a portion was set aside for the support of its church. And this formed the parochial glebe, thousands of which exist to this day. Gradually, when the whole nation had become Catholic, the moral obligation incumbent on every Christian to contribute according to his means to the support of his lawful pastors, was enforced by the canons of the Church. And as in those days the secular power commonly interfered to enforce the laws of the Church, the obligation became a legal one. Hence arose tithes, church-rates, &c.\*

In the lapse of ages, however, great changes have occurred. The religion of England was changed first into one and then into a thousand forms of Protestantism, whilst a remnant remained Catholic. From this has followed that tithes and other taxes which were in their origin an obligation freely adopted by a nation wholly Catholic for the support of their pastors, have become a forced tax upon those, in great part, who abhor the doctrines they are thus compelled to support. With regard

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put upon this maxim, we need only refer to the confiscation of charitable and religious funds in Spain, the ecclesiastical titles bill in England, the university law in France under Louis Phillippe, the fugitive slave acts in the United States, and the existing case of the Archbishop of Friburg in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

\* For this account of the early Christian institution of England see Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, chaps. ii. and iii., 2nd edition.

to the endowments, however, the case is different. It is clear that had they remained in the hands of the original donees, they could in no sense be considered as contributions by the state to the support of a particular form of religion, but simply as property, the quiet possession of which, by the rightful owners the state was bound to maintain.\* Confiscation is not the less confiscation because the property confiscated is that of the Church, not of an individual; robbery is not the less robbery because the plunder is the patrimony of the poor. The act which sequestered the property of the monasteries in England, under Henry the Eighth, and that which confiscated the lands of the Irish chieftains under James, were in principle identical. The decrees of the French convention, which deprived the French nobility of their estates, and that which took away the property of the churches were equally unjust. In both cases the state which had perpetrated the injustice and profited by the wrong, was bound to restitution. In both cases the power of prescription and the intervention of new rights limited that obligation. The emigrés received back a portion of their property, and the churches of France received an annual endowment. The same wrong and partial reparation has occurred in Spain in our own days. To condemn the rulers of the Church for accepting such partial restitution, is to hold that the ordinary obligations and rights of property do not obtain in relation to property belonging to churches. That ecclesiastics are outlaws, who may be robbed, but cannot claim restitution; in a word, to hold, as it appears some Franciscans did,† that if a priest be stopped by a thief, and stripped of his clothes, he may not lawfully seek to recover them by applying to the nearest magistrate.

Thus far as to endowments coming from gifts bestowed on individual churches or charities, or being commutations

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\* The fact of the nominal religion of England having been changed by the act of the State, and the endowments forcibly transferred to the new holders, of course considerably changes the question of right. What the State gave the State may take away; and it has as good a right now to transfer the endowments of the episcopal churches to new churches, as it had to take them from the expelled bishops in Elizabeth's time, and bestow them on her newly-created ones.

† See Madden, vol. ii. p. 209.

of such endowments. A second question arises as to the right, and as to the adviseability of a nation, *being all of one religion*, voluntarily to tax itself for the support of the ministers of that religion.

It seems to us that there can be no question as to the lawfulness, and little as to the prudence. If it be right for a community to impose a rate for the supply of water, for sewerage, for public libraries, for schools, for the support of the poor, every argument in favour of these measures applies equally to the building of churches and the support of teachers of religion. And the analogy may further teach us, that as single dissidents cannot justly claim to obstruct the action of the whole community, and one man may not keep the whole town unwashed because he dislikes water, so neither need the whole community defer building their churches until every individual assents.

But the analogy of education will at the same time teach us, that as education, so religion, flourishes most when relying most on spontaneous individual support. And history proves that in a series of years the Catholic Church may always confidently rely on the gifts of her members, provided only they be not torn from her, and that our churches and our charities will soon be rich enough if the property devoted to these purposes be protected by the ordinary laws. A third question is, whether it be just in a community consisting of individuals, professing many various religions, to tax them all for the support of one, or of all. To tax all for the support of one form of religion is a manifest injustice; to tax all by mutual consent, and then divide the produce *pro rata* amongst the various professions, would not, indeed, be theoretically unjust, but would practically lead to injustice, and in fact be impossible.

Although, however, the application of taxes to the support of the fabrics and ministers of religion be not necessarily unjust, it is always attended with this grave practical objection, that the state which gives almost invariably seeks to obtain a control over the government of the Church, and to intermeddle with functions foreign to its province, and in which its action is invariably injurious. Feeling deeply the evils of this interference we are ourselves strong advocates for what is commonly called the voluntary system, viz., the trusting for the support of the clergy (apart the property of the various local churches)

to the offerings of the faithful. We cannot, however, but see that in any country the rule is utterly inapplicable to many cases. The law compels paupers to reside in a workhouse. To talk of those who have no property supporting their minister of religion by their voluntary contributions is absurd. Our soldiers are sent out to India,—our sailors to the ends of the earth; to suggest that they should, out of their pay, support a chaplain wherever they go, is a mockery. The case of lunatics and orphans is still stronger. To say that the charity of their fellow believers will supply them with the ministrations of religion is no answer: they have *no right* to claim it at their hands; and the question is one of *right*, not of charity.

We have thus endeavoured to distinguish the various questions commonly mingled in the vague phrases, "connexion of church and state," and "voluntaryism," and to afford our readers the means of forming accurate conclusions on these subjects—an accuracy the more necessary as it is rare in England, whose writers generalize language appropriate only to the peculiar state of things existing in their own country. Thus Dr. Chalmers, as quoted by Madden, (vol. ii. p. 192) says, "Wherever we have a *certain legal provision* for the ministrations of Christianity, there we have an establishment of Christianity in the land." Or as Dr. Madden puts it, "There we have a State Church established for purposes more secular than spiritual." Now the above quotation literally applies to the case of a local church, which should have a *certain income* derived from the annual revenue produced by former free gifts or endowments, and *protected* in the enjoyment of that income by the *ordinary laws* of property. And every presbytery of Dr. Chalmers' own free kirk, which has a glebe given it by some zealous hearer, would come under his anathema.

With similar looseness of expression, Dr. Madden, after detailing the death in battle of Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Valentino, exclaims: "A terrible example of the calamitous results of the connection of Church and State."

We had intended to investigate some of the views put forward by Dr. Madden on some other points in which he seems to us to show equal inaccuracy of meaning, and looseness of reasoning with those displayed in the pages devoted to the consideration of the connexion of Church and State. But we have already rather exceeded the

limits of a review, and must conclude with a few remarks on the purely literary execution of the work before us.

In Dr. Madden's former works whilst praising his diligence and research, we have had to lament the carelessness and inaccuracy of both his arrangement and style, and unfortunately the same faults are perceptible, though in a somewhat less degree, in the present work. Throughout the work the personal history of Jerome is constantly interrupted by disquisitions which should have been grouped at the close of the book. The history of the early life of Alexander the Sixth is thrice taken up and adjourned, and the current of the history is broken by attacks on Brownson, Rohrbacher, and others. A graver fault is the quoting modern writers indiscriminately with contemporary ones as of equal authority, and in a manner which would lead the incautious reader to take them for original evidence; Ranke, (vol. ii. p. 259,) Hafe, (vol. i. p. 193,) and Azeglio, (i. Palleschi ed i Piagnoni, in several places,) are thus quoted. A similar inaccuracy is caused by not investigating the meaning of phrases or words in foreign writers, which he does not understand; Dr. Madden invariably either leaves the word untranslated or makes a guess at the meaning. The mistakes to which this carelessness gives rise are sometimes ludicrous enough. Thus in Burchardt's Diary he gives "the Archbishop Rhottomagensis," for the Archbishop of Rouen; "Anne queen of *Britain*," for "Brittany," (vol. ii. p. 260;) and the well-known name René d'Anjou puzzles us, as Renato d'Angio; as also "a monk of the Augustinian Ermitano order," for "*frate ermitano Augustiniano*," "an Augustinian hermit;" (vol. i. p. 76.) "the first day of the Septuagint in the church d'uomo," for "Septuagesima Sunday in the cathedral;" the prior of St. Mark is called the head of his order, (vol. i. p. 127,) a title only applicable to the general; and Cardinal Caraffa, who was protector of the order, is called the general, (p. 190,) whilst by a ludicrous confusion betwixt his name and his title, Julian della Rovere, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, is made into two persons, (p. 183,) as though one should say, "Dr. Blomfield and the bishop of London voted together."

The mistakes of the printer, and the carelessness of the corrector, have caused a large proportion of the Latin and Italian quotations to be falsely printed, whilst not a few are most inaccurately translated; nor is the English wholly

free from occasional slips of the pen. There is one instance of mis-translation, however, which requires a more marked censure ; it is the abridged translation given at page 156 of the second volume of the report on church discipline, presented to Pope Paul the Third by a congregation of cardinals. So strange is the inaccuracy of this translation, that we can only account for it in the work of a scholar like Dr. Madden by supposing that here, as in some other instances, he has entrusted the translation to another hand ; but he should have recollected that by inserting it in his work he made himself responsible for its errors.\*

We have thus endeavoured impartially to set forth the merits and imperfections of Dr. Madden's work, and by so doing to enable, as far as in us lay, our readers to form

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\* We would warn our readers that they must consult the original (given at p. 269) for themselves, as hardly a single article is accurately translated ; it would, of course, be impossible for us to go seriatim through all the articles, and we will, therefore, content ourselves with illustrating our remarks by two articles, presenting in parallel columns the original, Dr. Madden's version, and the true translation.

*Original.*

ART. II.

Alius abusus magnus et minime tolerandus, quo universus populus Christianus scandalizatur, est ex impedimentis quae conferuntur episcopis in gubernatione suarum oviuum, maxime in puniendis scelestis et corrigendis. Nam primo multis viis exi-  
munt se mali homines, praesertim cleri-  
ci, a jurisdictione sui ordinarii. Deinde si non sint exempti configiunt statim ad Penitentiariam vel ad Datariam, ubi confes-  
tim inveniunt viam

*Dr. Madden.*

It is a great abuse, and by no means to be tolerated, that the Christian world should be scandalized by the impediments which bishops, in the government of their flocks,\* put in the way of punishing and correcting criminals. For, in the first place, by many modes evil doers escaped, and especially clergy, from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries. Then, if they be not exempt from it, they fly immediately to confes-

*True Translation.*

Another great abuse, and one not to be borne, by which the Christian world is scandalized, arises from the impediments which are put in the way of bishops in the governing of their flocks, and especially in punishing ill-doers and those who need correction. For, in the first place, in many ways evil men, and especially clerics, withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of their ordinary. Then, if they be not exempt, they betake

their own judgment on the important matters of which it treats. If we have spoken freely of its defects, it is that we deem the work before us of pith and weight enough to demand a careful study. It is easy to fill pages with the routine formulaires of praise, to criticize demands a more attentive perusal and more anxious thought. It seems to us, it may be erroneously, that a not uncommon fault in our Catholic reviews has been the over-zealous eagerness with which they have sought to guard our own writers from animadversion, and to award to them indiscriminate applause. We have ever sought rather to judge works for themselves, not for their antecedents: "Tros, Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur;" the merits and defects of a work are the scope of a criticism, not the antecedents, the opportunities, or the intentions of the writer, but we never

impunitati, et quod  
pejus est ob pecuni-  
am prestitam.

sion, or by means of  
corruption they ob-  
tain impunity.

themselves at once  
to the *Penitentiary* or  
*Datary*,\* where they  
immediately obtain  
the means of impu-  
nity; and what is  
worse, this is obtained  
by a bribe.

*Original.*

ART. XXIII.

Consuētūr etiam  
mutari voluntates ul-  
timæ testatorum qui  
ad pias causas legant  
quāpiam pecunia  
summam: qui auc-  
toritate Sanct. tue  
transferunt ad haere-  
dem vel legatarium  
ob pretēsam pau-  
pertatem, &c., idque  
ob lucrum.

*Dr. Madden.*

The impiety of  
changing the last  
wishes of a testator,  
with a view of divert-  
ing property from the  
heir-at-law, on any  
pretence of charita-  
ble purposes, should  
be put a stop to.

*True Translation.*

It hath grown into  
a custom to change  
the last wills of tes-  
tators who have left  
any sums of money  
to charitable pur-  
poses, and these have  
been transferred by  
the authority of your  
Holiness to the heir  
or legatee, on the  
ground of his pre-  
tended poverty, &c.,  
and this has been  
done for a bribe.

\* Penitentiary or Datary, two tribunals in Rome for ecclesiasti-  
cal causes, which have as much to say to "going to confession"  
as the High Court of Chancery has.

forget that the critic himself is liable to criticism ; how far our views are correct, how far our judgments sound and impartial, must be decided by a wider tribunal—

“*Penes lectorem est judicium.*”

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ART. VI.—1. *The History of the Papacy to the Period of the Reformation.* By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. 2 vols., 8vo. London : Bentley, 1854.

2. *History of the Christian Church to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, A.D. 590.* By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. 8vo. London : Murray, 1854.

WHEN Pericles was one day anxiously considering in what form he might most safely present his public accounts to the people, Alcibiades suggested that it would be much better for him to consider how he might escape the necessity of rendering any account at all.

The early Protestant historians of the Papacy were wont, for the most part, to act upon this suggestion. Taught by the very first principle of the Reformation to regard the Papal Supremacy as a modern usurpation, they held themselves dispensed from taking any account of it whatsoever in the early history of the Church. The Papacy does not form one of the sixteen “Heads” into which the Centuriators of Magdeburg divide the centuries of their history. Basnage hardly bestows a thought on the Roman Church of the first three ages at all ; and Mosheim avowedly treats the Bishop of Rome, during this period, as on the very same footing with the bishops of all the other great sees.

The researches of modern historians, however, have led to the abandonment of this ground. The bolder expedient of Alcibiades has been deserted for Pericles’ more safe and prudent policy. They no longer shrink from tendering any account of the early Papacy. But we fear it will be found that, in most cases, they have recourse to the

less creditable expedient of what is popularly called, “doctoring” the account before it is presented.

Mr. Riddle, in the volumes now before us, seems to halt between these two courses. The only logical course which is open to an adverse historian of the Papacy is plainly this:—to sift the historical arguments upon which its advocates rely; to demonstrate the falsity or insufficiency of the facts which they allege in support of it; or to neutralize these facts by an array of antagonistic evidence. Now Mr. Riddle commences by declaring that all this is mere work of supererogation. He professes to do it, it is true: but it is clear that he considers it as a pure act of polemical generosity. Like the writers of the older school, he assumes it as certain that the Papacy *did* begin at some period subsequent to the establishment of Christianity; and he therefore considers the determination of that period merely as a curious historical question and nothing more.

According to him, the “sound and sufficient answer” to every inquiry as to the origin of the Papal claim is simply this: “I can show *when* the Papacy *did not exist*, and when the ecclesiastical atmosphere was perfectly clear; but I do *not* undertake to fix the exact moment at which it may have been said, ‘The Papacy is here,’ in sharp contradistinction to all previous time in which it might have been affirmed, ‘It is not here.’”\* This is unquestionably a very decided step towards getting rid of the necessity of “rendering any account at all!”

In his preface he illustrates his method of historical enquiry into the origin of the Papacy by an analogy which, if it be not very conclusive, is at least somewhat novel in the science of theology. He likens the Papal system to a mighty fog, which has pervaded and obscured the whole ecclesiastical atmosphere. Now “if we were in the midst of a fog,” says he, “and should ask a bystander, When did this fog begin? the answer would naturally be more or less general and vague. Should we, however, press the matter more closely, and insist upon being made acquainted with the very second of time at which the mist came on, just as we can be accurately informed of the commencement of an eclipse, our respondent, if wise, would content himself with saying that at such or such a time the atmos-

\* Preface, xiii.

sphere was perfectly clear, and that, therefore, the fog began at some time subsequent to that period, but at what precise second, or minute, he would not pretend to say. On the other hand, should he be unwise enough to attempt to fix the time with the required exactness, and should he afterwards receive another account of the same kind from a second independent witness, there can be no doubt that the statements of our two informants would be found to disagree ; in all probability there would be a discrepancy of several minutes, perhaps even of a quarter of an hour." In the same way, he pursues, if the question as to the commencement of the Papacy be proposed with a view to theological controversy, it would be easy to entrap "an adversary who should attempt to give a definite reply, or to make several respondents contradict each other so as to give some colour to an assertion that they are all wrong," and thus to show that the Papacy did not commence at any of the dates assigned by Protestant historians. He thinks it wiser, therefore, altogether to disclaim the necessity of any such enquiry.

Thus, it is only under a formal protest against its necessity, and even against its theological importance, that Mr. Riddle enters upon the History of the Papacy. It is true that he undertakes to do more. It is true that to "the practical man, who is well aware of the gradual and stealthy advances of Romish aggression," he promises to point out "what were from time to time its ways and methods of progress,—what the external circumstances which formed or retarded its growth,—how it employed its opportunities, and how it overcame impediments." He undertakes to "put the politician or man of business in possession of the plain facts of the perfect history, the actual and palpable events by which that history has been marked from age to age in the course of human affairs." But he does all this under protest—under the disclaimer already described ; and, what is far more important in estimating the accuracy of his facts, and the truth of his colouring, he avowedly directs his narrative towards the illustration of the foregone conclusion that the Papacy is a "usurpation. His first, last, and all-pervading conception of the Papacy is, as "a fog in the ecclesiastical atmosphere!"

Mr. Robertson's work, in every respect a more learned and more creditable performance, is not confined, like Mr. Riddle's, to the history of the Papacy. It is a general

History of the Church down to the end of the sixth century. But it will be seen hereafter that almost the very same observations apply to those portions of it in which the affairs of the Church of Rome are discussed, which are applicable to the special History of the Papacy, as it has been written by Mr. Riddle.

Nor is it on account of any originality of view, or of any very notable skill in using the views and the learning of those who have gone before them, that we have chosen these works as the subject of special criticism. Mr. Robertson makes but little pretension to originality, or even to original research. Mr. Riddle's book is avowedly a digest of the well-known work of Planck upon the Papacy, and of so much of the general Church History of Schröckh as bears upon that particular subject.

We take these works, therefore, merely as types of the views now popular among English Churchmen on this important question. Each of the last few years has produced in England more than one contribution to the study of a subject which, for more than a century, had gone altogether into disuse. For a long series of years, the only resource of the English student of Church History was the bald and inaccurate translation of Mosheim by Maclaine; or perhaps it might better be said that Church history came to be entirely ignored as a branch of theological literature. The great literary and scientific movement which began in England about a quarter of a century since, effected a partial improvement. Both the series of publications then undertaken,—the *Library of Useful Knowledge* and *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*—comprised a History of the Church—the former by Dr. Waddington, the latter by Mr. Stebbing. Neither of these works, however, (the first strongly tinged with Latitudinarianism, the second deeply Evangelical) can lay claim to the character of a scientific history. Still less the Manual of Church History put forth by Mr. Palmer early in the High Church movement of 1833, as a guide for the speculations of orthodox English Churchmen. But they all served at least to give an impulse to the study. An "Ecclesiastical History Society" was formed, chiefly for the purpose of publishing and rendering accessible to scholars original materials of Church History. Private publishers found their account in embarking in the same career. Texts and translations of the early Greek historians of the Church, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen,

Theodore, have gradually multiplied. The original sources of English Church history have been more successfully laid open ; and it is now possible to form, for a very trifling sum, a historical collection, which, fifteen years ago, could only have been accessible within the precincts of one of our great public libraries.

The same activity has begun to show itself in original historical composition. Foulkes, Neale, Townsend, Milman, Soames, and other less eminent names, form, within a few years, a larger and more imposing array of Church historians than the English ecclesiastical literature of the preceding century and a half can furnish ; and all, in a greater or less degree, have felt the influence of that larger and more philosophical tone which pervades the theological studies of the age ; and at least professes to approach the really important questions of the history in a spirit of enlarged and impartial criticism.

The natural result, moreover, of the Romeward tendencies of theological speculation in England during the past years, has been, that, with almost all these writers, the first and most prominent place has been given to the discussion of the Roman claim to primacy in the Universal Church. It is curious to contrast the treatment of this question by the once oracular Mosheim, with that into which the researches of modern popular Catholic historians, and the very necessities of the modern controversy, have driven the representatives of the same opinions in the English schools ; and it is chiefly as a type of the new method of meeting this particular subject that we have selected the works now under examination:

We must premise, however, that there are many considerations carefully shut out of view by these and all other anti-papal writers, which, nevertheless, are indispensable to a calm and impartial adjudication upon the early evidences of the exercise of such primacy. We shall only advert to two of these. The first regards the notions to be entertained of the powers and privileges of the primacy, such as we may suppose it to have been actually reduced to exercise in those ages. The second regards the nature and the condition of the historical records of the ages under examination.

I. A few words will suffice on the first point, viz., the notions which are commonly put forward by Protestants in the controversy on the primacy of the Roman see, as to

what a Catholic is bound to believe to have been the position of that See in the early Church, and what the nature, the extent, and the frequency, of the acts of jurisdiction which it exercised.

It has been the habit of such controversialists to transfer to the times of the early Papacy the picture of papal authority which they find in later ages; to assume the Roman bishop, such as we find him in mediæval times, as their ideal of the essential privileges of the pontifical office; to point, if not to the full, complete, and clearly defined system of the Hildebrandine period, with all its temporal pretensions, at least to the spiritual prerogatives, with which it was then believed to be invested; and to challenge the advocate of the Papacy to find in early history any counterpart for this picture. This is a fallacy so monstrous that it might seem hardly necessary to it. But, in truth, almost all the argumentation against the early Papacy proceeds upon this hypothesis.

Many important circumstances, however, must be taken into account, if we would form a just estimate of the real position of the Roman See in the ante-Nicene period.

(1) It must be remembered that the intercourse between the various Churches was exceedingly difficult and precarious. A lapse of many weeks, and even months, was often required in order to effect an interchange of correspondence between Rome and some of the more distant Churches. This very physical difficulty of intercourse would of itself preclude the idea of any frequent or active exercise of the Primacy, at least in those details of local Church government to which, in the more modern Church, it has been extended.

(2) The persecution to which the Christian population both of Rome and of the provinces were constantly exposed, and which may almost be said to have been the normal condition of the Church until the triumph of Constantine, was a still more effective barrier to the intercourse between the Churches, and therefore to the exercise of immediate primatial jurisdiction. It need hardly be said that the jealousy of the persecutors would have been stimulated by any ostentatious assumption of general authority on the part of an individual bishop; and when it is remembered that St. Cyprian says of the Emperor Decius, "that he would more readily tolerate a rival of his kingly power than a Christian bishop at Rome, it may easily be admitted that

the very instincts of self-preservation would, to a certain extent, operate, both for the Popes and for the individual Churches, in suspending those mutual relations of supervision and of dependance, which more fortunate circumstances would have brought, and did eventually bring, into full operation.

(3) The Church was as yet only in a state of progress; nor are we to look in a young and still growing institution for those centralizing tendencies which are the natural results of development and maturity. The founders of foreign churches, even still, are invested with far more than ordinary powers; and although, of course, held ultimately subject to the central authority of Rome, yet are left, in many details, to enjoy a far larger degree of independent action than is accorded to the bishops of the old and regularly organized kingdoms of the Church. It is only in extreme circumstances that the immediate action of the Holy See is interposed in such cases.

(4) This centralizing tendency was still further checked by the very nature of the struggle in which the Church, during the early ages, was engaged. While an army is battling for the very ground on which it stands encamped, men do not pause to settle very accurately the gradations of rank among its commanders, or the strict relations between the generalissimo and his inferiors in command. The struggle of the ante-Nicene Church was not for minute shades of belief, but for the very foundations of all belief. The adversaries with whom she had to contend were either Pagans, or semi-Pagan heretics of the Gnostic schools, both equally inaccessible to the influence of Church authority, and therefore unlikely to have called forth its exercise. This was the almost universal character of the early heresies. One does not easily understand an appeal to the authority of a pope, as an argument for a man who hardly admits more of Christianity than its very name.

Indeed one can hardly fail to recognize a providential arrangement, in that course of events by which the immediate and active exercise of the Roman Primacy, such as it is found at a later period, was for a time held in abeyance. It was necessary that the jurisdiction of the bishops and other local authorities should be consolidated in the first place. Until this had taken place, the too frequent interposition of the central authority would have had the effect of diminishing or entirely subverting the influence of

the local rulers. And it is for the same reason, doubtless, that, in these same ages, we observe the same infrequency in the celebration of councils, whether provincial or national. The traces of their action in the first two centuries are just as faint as those of Papal authority. The faithful were first habituated to the authority of bishops; next in order came the metropolitan; then the exarchal and patriarchal tribunals. But yet, even from the first, we find sufficient (though perhaps indirect and infrequent) evidence, that above them all was held, *as a final and decisive resource*, the action, sometimes spontaneous, sometimes appellate, of the Primatial See.

II. In the second place, it can hardly be necessary to caution any instructed student against the expectation of finding, in the literary remains of the early centuries, anything approaching to a complete or connected record of their history. No one can read even a single chapter of the History of Eusebius, without being painfully struck by its meagre and fragmentary character. It is, in the main, an unsatisfactory and unmethodical collection of fragments and scraps, often unauthenticated, and almost always unconnected with each other. It leaves us, for at least the first two centuries, entirely uninformed, even on topics on which we might most reasonably expect, and on which we certainly should most reasonably desire, to be accurately informed. The lives and labours of the apostles, even of SS. Peter and Paul, except in so far as it is told in the Holy Scripture—the history of the Blessed Virgin herself after the crucifixion of her Son—the early history of the great Churches, whether of the East or of the West—these and a variety of other topics of the deepest Christian interest, for all times and in all ages, will be sought in vain in the pages of the Father of Ecclesiastical History. Beyond a barren enumeration of the bishops of the leading sees, he literally tells us almost nothing of the period in question. As regards the Roman See itself, we are left in doubt regarding the order of the succession, and even the personal identity of some of its occupants. It is only by an effort of comparative criticism that we satisfy ourselves, whether Cletus and Anacletus were one individual, and in what order the interval between Cletus and Peter is to be filled up. As regards Antioch and Alexandria the records are equally meagre and unsatisfying, and even the history of the Church of Jerusalem is a complete blank.

These are leading facts which will occur to the mind of every student of Church History. But few even of the best informed advert to the startling extent of the deficiency. Many of those who hang their faith exclusively upon the Scripture, will be startled to learn how very faint and imperfect a trace some of the inspired books of the New Testament have left, even of their very existence, in the records of the first two centuries. It would hardly be believed in Exeter Hall, that, out of the twenty-seven books which compose the New Testament we might read with most anxious attention the entire of the literature of the first and second century which has come down to us, without suspecting the existence, or learning the names of more than one half. Of these twenty-seven books there are no less than fourteen which are not even mentioned by any author for a hundred years after the death of St. John, the last of the inspired writers! And among these fourteen are the Acts of the Apostles, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, that to the Galatians, that to the Colossians, both those to the Thessalonians, and that of St. James! Even of the remaining thirteen there are several, for the knowledge of which we are dependent, within the literature of the same period, on a single writer; and in this number are included St. John's Gospel and First Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, and his First Epistle to Timothy, as well as the Epistle to the Hebrews!

In like manner, we feel assured that a large proportion of the advocates of episcopacy would be shocked to find, in controversy with a Presbyterian, how poor an array of authority they would be able to produce from the remains of the same period in favour of their fundamental dogma of Church government. The Trinitarian will not easily believe how difficult it is to produce among the ante-Nicene Fathers anything approaching to a consensus upon a number of very important consecutaries of the Trinity, some of which, after the outbreak of Arianism, became almost the very shibboleth of orthodoxy. We could produce nearly a score of authorities from anti-Nicene writers, affirming what in almost the very same words, (though we need hardly say in a very different acceptation) became the grand dogma of Arianism, viz., that the Son was born *by the will of the Father*; and among these, not only writers of doubtful repute, like Tatian, Tertullian, Origen,

Hippolytus, and Novatian, but also some of the very greatest names of the Church, Ignatius, Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Lactantius. And a similar array of ante-Nicene names might be produced apparently denying, some the immensity of Christ, others his invisibility, others his eternity.

Now, we shall not be suspected of alleging these facts, as if we implied that the writers to whom we allude really did call in question the great dogmas which their language appears at first sight to exclude. But they may serve to show how far the literature of those times, *such as it has come down to us*, is from presenting a complete picture of the whole doctrinal system of the age, and how much it requires to be studied by the aid of the light which is reflected upon it from the fuller and more systematic expositions of the Fathers of what was pre-eminently the age of theological precision.

Still more forcibly must this principle apply to the historical records of these times, which, as we have seen, are even more lamentably defective. As regards the particular question which we are now considering—the position which the Roman bishop occupied in relation to the rest of the Church,—the historical literature of the first two centuries and a half may almost be said to be a perfect blank. It tells us absolutely nothing of the popes beyond their names. Are we, therefore, to conclude that the times themselves were equally barren of events? Is it not rather, that the history is without incidents, simply because they are unrecorded?

Urgentur ignoti longâ  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

What a notable example we have had even within the last few years! Five years ago, perhaps, there was not in the whole range of the early Roman history, a darker or more hopeless blank than that which followed the Pontificate of Victor. It was known that his successors were Zephyrinus and Callistus; but beyond this all was darkness. Who these pontiffs were, what their antecedents, what their enactments, what their administration,—was utterly unknown. Suddenly the memorable fragment of Hippolytus is discovered:—and at once we learn that this period of (as it had seemed) blank inactivity was in reality one of the most bustling and excited in the entire of the

early annals of Rome ; and that, at a time when Rome had appeared sunk in utter silence and oblivion, it was actually the theatre of a most animated and important contest. Whatever value we may attach to the particular views of this contest put forth by the writer; whatever credence we give to his strictures upon the character and the policy of Callistus ;—this much at least is entirely beyond question.

Here, then, is a most important event, or rather a long series of events stretching over several years, and embracing two pontificates—no less an event than a schism of the Roman Church—of which, until the chance discovery of this fragment, not even a suspicion had existed. And this, it must be added, several years after the commencement of the third century. How many equally important events in Roman history—less happy, *carent quia vate sacro*—may still remain in the same unrecorded obscurity from which chance has thus rescued the episode of Zephyrinus and Callistus ?

It may be said, to be sure, that in a point so important and so practical as the authority of the Roman bishop, if it had really been such as Catholics regard it, it is impossible to conceive that, even in the imperfect records which have been described, there should not have been preserved at least such allusions to it, as, even though casual and indirect, would be quite sufficient to identify its leading characteristics. An authority so decisive and so prominent could hardly fail, it may be said, to be appealed to, or, at least, to be introduced by incidental reference. The letters, the homilies, the moral and polemical treatises of the time, must surely have occasionally brought it forward.

Now this can only be imagined by persons who do not advert to the nature of the writings of the first and second century, which have been preserved, and to the subjects to which these writings relate. A very brief enumeration of them will suffice to show that the primacy of the Roman bishop is the very last subject to which we might expect them to allude. The Epistle of St. Barnabas is confined to the first principles of Christian faith and morals. The Pastor of Hermas is a half-poetical declamation. St. Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians are purely local, and exclusively regard the duty of obedience to the pastors of each particular Church. Of the celebrated letters of

St. Ignatius, addressed to the several Churches, all are, except one, directed to the particular circumstances of each Church; and that one [To the Romans,] does imply, by the peculiar wording of its title, a recognition of some special preeminence on the part of Rome. Of the Epistles of Polycarp, that addressed to the Church of Smyrna is on a purely personal topic, the martyrdom of St. Ignatius; that to Diognet is an apology for Christianity; and the same may be said of the writings of Papias, a few fragments of which are preserved by Halloix, Grabe, and Gallandi.

This scanty list comprises all the writers who can be referred to the first century.

The writers of the second are all either Apologies of Christianity, addressed to the heathens, or refutations of the semi-heathen sects of the time. The Apologies of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Hermias, and Theophilus of Antioch, are still extant; those of Quadratus and Aristides are known only from Eusebius and St. Jerome, as also those of Melito of Sardis, and Apollinaris. But even were they all still preserved, it is plain that an Apology for the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, and a defence of Christianity against the calumnies with which it was assailed, would be the very last place in which we might expect an appeal to the authority of Rome, or an exposition of its primatial privileges. It would be equally out of place in the few remaining writings of the second century. They were all, with hardly an exception, against the Gnostic heresies. Agrippa, Castor, Theophilus, Apollinaris, Maximus, Serapion, all wrote against one or other of the forms of this prolific heresy. Irenaeus's great work, Ελέγχος της ψευδώνυμης γνώσεως has professedly the same object. Now we need not repeat that it is not in works of this character we could expect any, even incidental, reference to the primacy. With these antagonists, most of whom were little advanced beyond paganism, there was question of the very outworks of Christianity itself, and not of the details of its hierarchy or church government; and they were to be refuted not by the authority of a Pontiff, but by the evidence of Scripture or of reason itself.

The same, though somewhat less universally, may be said of the patristic literature of the third century. It is almost all addressed to the very first principles of Christian belief, considered in its relation to those outside of the

Church, and almost never enters into the details of its internal constitution. And where the dogmatical discussions, as, for example, those on the Trinity, were addressed to the Christian adherents of some of the sects of the times, they of their own nature excluded, as is plain from the circumstances of the case, all appeal to the authority of a Roman bishop, whose authority these sectaries, as a matter of course, did not acknowledge.

Thus, to glance at the principal ecclesiastical writers of the century, if we except St. Cyprian's treatise on Unity, a few of the letters of the same father, and the celebrated letter of Firmilian, there is not a single work in which we might naturally expect to find a reference or an allusion to this subject. Of the four works of St. Clement of Alexandria two are purely moral, and two are expressly intended for Gentile readers, and addressed to them alone. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus wrote chiefly on the Trinity. Origen's books against Celsus, his *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, and his moral works, fall into the same category with those of Clement of Alexandria; and although, perhaps, it might appear that his voluminous commentaries on Holy Scripture should have afforded an opportunity of referring to the privileges of Rome, it must be recollect that in these he addresses himself mainly to the prevailing controversies of his time. The same is true of Tertullian. Those of his works which were written before his lapse into Montanism, are either apologies of Christianity, moral essays, or controversial treatises against Gentiles, Jews, or Gnostic heretics, in all of which any reference to the authority of the Bishop of Rome would have been singularly unappropriate.

In truth, to bring this long preliminary to a close, nothing could be more unphilosophical, and nothing more contrary to the analogies even of modern polemical literature than to expect in the writers of the times under review frequent or even occasional references to the question, now so prominent, of the relation of the Roman bishop to the Church. Even now that it has become preeminently the controversy of the age, would any man infer, that, because in Nicholas' *Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme*; or in Petau's treatises on the Trinity or on the Incarnation; or in any of the numberless moral and ascetical works which every year produces; no allusion is made to the primacy of Rome or the privileges of its bishop, therefore this doctrine was unknown to these writers or rejected

by them? And yet these writings, and such as these, are exact types of the great body of the theological remains of the fathers of the three first centuries.

It is only from these considerations that we can form a just estimate of the real position of the Roman see in relation to the rest of the Church, as discoverable from the historians and other literary remains of the first centuries. To judge these imperfect, fragmentary, and, as regards this particular question, irrelevant, records, and to draw inferences from them, as we should from the complete and carefully digested annals of modern history, would be either most uncritical or most uncandid.

Now it is necessary to bear all this in mind, while we are investigating the history of the Papacy. To look in the annals of the first ages for traces of a direct and ever-recurring interference in the local affairs of particular churches, such as we see in the history of the modern Church, would be a palpable anachronism. It is enough if we find in the scanty records of the times, facts, and statements, which, although different in character from many of the later developments of Papal power, yet must be acknowledged to involve, no less inevitably, all the spiritual privileges of the primacy, modified, it is true, by the circumstances of the age, and by the mutual relations of the various sections of the Christian commonwealth, but nevertheless, exhibiting the inalienable and divinely imparted power of ruling the Church according to its actual necessities. This is quite sufficient to fulfil all the requirements of the historical argument in favour of the Roman Supremacy. More than this would be irreconcilable with what we have already seen as to the actual circumstances of the early Church.

And the fundamental injustice of almost every Protestant writer on the early history of the Papacy, consists in their entirely ignoring these considerations. Nay, a favourite topic of argument against the Roman Papacy is this very scantiness of the early records of Roman Church! Far from being accounted for by the general principles explained above, it is triumphantly alleged as *prima-facie* evidence of the absence of preeminence on its part. And yet, with an inconsistency which might excite surprise, if it were not the habitual characteristic of polemical literature, whenever it does happen that, in the scanty records which have been preserved, Rome is found to occupy any promi-

nent position,—as, for example, in the Paschal controversy, the Cyprianic correspondence, the affair of Athanasius and the Eusebians, and other similar episodes of the early history,—the chances are, that we shall find the narrative treated with suspicion, if not with positive unbelief, as a Roman forgery ;—on the simple ground, that to attribute to the Roman bishop in those times the prominence which these narrations assign to him is a clear anachronism, and can only be explained as a device of the modern advocates of the Papal prerogative ! It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of Mr. Shepherd's elaborate hypothesis upon this subject, which we are amused to find Mr. Riddle, if not positively adopt, at least record without any expression of dissent ;\*—even down to the ludicrous suggestion that the very abuse of the Roman bishops contained in these narratives—such as the well-known letter of Firmilian, or that of the Eusebian bishops to Julius, on which Protestants are wont to rely as their strongest arguments against the Papal usurpation—is merely an “ingenious device” of the forger, thrown in in order to disarm suspicion, and to give a greater appearance of genuineness to a correspondence which was calculated in the main to give a colour to the ambitious claims of Rome ! †

It is time, however, to turn to the immediate subject of our present notice, and to render some account of the spirit in which the authors now before us have dealt with the enquiry.

We may begin by observing that, in neither of these works will the reader find any allowance for the considerations which we have been enforcing. On the contrary, it is plain that, without insisting upon it as an argument, there is a disposition to put prominently forward the smallness of the space occupied in the early annals by the Church of Rome, as a practical presumption against our notion of its supremacy. Mr. Riddle even draws from the silence of Justin in his *Apology*, a formal inference that “the possession of anything like Papal power by the presiding presbyter of the Roman Church had not yet been imagined ;” and he presses into service with the same view the “somewhat remarkable” fact, that “none of the

\* See I. p. 28, note, and again p. 78 and p. 73.

† I. p. 87.

early Apologies or Defences were written by a bishop of Rome in his name."

It will be more satisfactory, however, to select a few leading events, in order, by the manner in which these authors deal with them, to test the general character of their history of the Papacy.

We shall take, in the first instance, the well-known interposition of Pope Victor in the Paschal controversy. Not that this celebrated case can be at all considered as decisive; although it is amusing to observe how perseveringly Protestants persist in representing this as one of the great sources of argument on which the Catholic view of the Papal authority is made to rest. Mr. Riddle and Mr. Robertson both put it forward as a case which is "pressed into the service of the later Papal claims," and both proceed to discuss it exclusively in this point of view;—the truth being that in almost every Catholic authority upon the question, "the contest of Pope Victor with the Asiatics" will be found to be discussed, rather in the light of an objection to the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, than as an argument in its favour.

We shall transcribe Mr. Riddle's narrative of the affair.

"But the influence of Rome was already, even in the second century, too great for the simplicity and virtue of her bishops; in the minds of some of whom, to say the least, pride of precedence had been developed into a lust of power. We have now arrived at the date of an event which, while of itself it testifies the actual absence of papal authority or power in the Church, yet reveals such a temper in a bishop of Rome, and was attended with such proceedings on the part of Victor, that we are compelled to regard it as at least one of the early, though faint, streaks of light in the morning horizon of the Papacy. Forty years had elapsed since Anicetas and Polycarp had discussed in a friendly spirit their differences relating to the observance of Easter; and it is probable that the Christian mind had been more or less directed to the subject ever since that period. At length the question was generally raised, and was treated at Rome in a temper widely different from that which had so favourably distinguished the previous discussion. The whole account of this event is so important in its various bearings as to be entitled to a full survey.

"The Churches of Asia Minor had continued to observe the paschal festival on the fourteenth day of the first month; while all other Churches of the East and West observed it, as formerly, on the first Sunday after. A desire of general uniformity with regard

to this practice appears to have now gathered strength; and numerous synods, or meetings of bishops and clergy, took place in various countries with a view to a final adjustment of the question. The bishops of Palestine assembled under the presidency of Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem; those of Pontus under Palmas, as the oldest of their number; the Churches of Gaul under the presidency of Irenæus; the Church of Corinth, by itself, under its own bishop Bachyllus; and from these synods, as well as from others convened in various places, letters were addressed to the faithful everywhere, establishing what Eusebius terms the ‘ecclesiastical dogma,’ that the Festival of the Resurrection should be celebrated on the Lord’s day, and no other; and among these letters there was one from the Church of Rome, bearing the name of the bishop, Victor. On the other side, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, presided at a meeting of the bishops of Asia Minor, who were resolved to maintain their own ancient custom; and we find that Polycrates addressed a letter to Victor, declaring their intention, and appealing to ancient and apostolical authority in support of it. From this epistle of Polycrates it appears that it was Victor who had requested him to assemble his bishops for a consideration of the question; and, from the style of defence in which the epistle is written, especially from the repetition of the apostolic maxim, ‘We ought to obey God rather than men,’ it seems probable that the present agitation of the controversy is to be traced to Victor, and that his letter to Polycrates was conceived in a dictatorial, or even threatening, tone. Be this as it may, on the receipt of this letter from Polycrates, subscribed as it was by a large number of the bishops of Asia Minor, Victor immediately exerted his influence to obtain a general sentence of excommunication against the recusant Churches on the ground of heterodoxy, by sending letters to other bishops, in which he declared that the offending parties were absolutely cut off from communion with his own Church of Rome. In this proceeding, however, he failed to obtain the general concurrence of other Churches; but, since Eusebius says, ‘This was not approved by all the bishops,’ we may probably infer that some of them did consent to the proposal. Many, at all events, refused, and sent back letters of severe remonstrance, exhorting Victor to cultivate a spirit of peace, concord, and love towards his neighbours. Among these well-merited rebukes we find a letter from Irenæus, which has been preserved, in the original Greek, by Eusebius, and is valuable, not only on its own account, but also as enabling us to form a more complete estimate of the meaning of that passage in his writings which we have already considered as laudatory of the Church of Rome. Writing in the name of the brethren ‘whom he governed in Gaul,’ Irenæus acknowledges it to be true that the paschal festival ought to be observed only on the Lord’s day, but tells Victor plainly that he ought not to refuse to hold communion with whole Churches of God who observed a different custom in accord-

ance with an ancient tradition ; 'for,' continues he, 'the controversy relates, not merely to the day of observance, but to the manner of the fast itself. Some think they ought to fast one day, others reckon two, others again more; and some make their period to consist of forty successive hours, day and night; and this difference in the observation of the fast did not spring up in our days, but began long ago in the time of our predecessors, who, being perhaps not very strict in their government, handed down to posterity a custom which may have originated in simplicity and ignorance. But, notwithstanding this diversity, they maintained peace with each other, and we continue to maintain it; and this difference in the fast commends our unanimity in the faith.' (The concluding words of this passage are very remarkable; involving, in fact, a great principle of sound Church polity.) Irenæus then proceeds to refer to the proceedings of past history in the following terms :—' And besides, those presbyters who, before the time of Soter, presided over the Church which you now govern—namely, Anicetas, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus—did not themselves concur in this observance (*i. e.*, the paschal practice of Asia Minor), nor did they suffer those who were with them to do so; but yet they continued on terms of friendship with those who came to them from Churches in which the observance was maintained. And although the fact of practising it among those who declined to do so was on this account the more striking, yet never were any ejected on account of this custom. On the contrary, the presbyters who preceded you, although they did not observe this custom, sent the eucharist to those from other Churches who did so.' And the epistle concludes with a narrative of the amicable discussion which had taken place between Anicetus and Polycarp. After these proceedings, the Churches of Asia Minor defended their practice in an epistle addressed to their brethren of other communions; and they appear to have continued their ancient observance without molestation, until at length uniformity was established by the Council of Nicaea in the fourth century.

" In this painful narrative there are many things worthy of remark. The intolerant and overbearing spirit of Victor is manifest, and needs no comment. It is also clear that the Bishop of Rome was not at this time regarded as the universal head of the Church; and that, in fact, all Churches of the East and West were independent of each other. This abundantly appears from the refusal of other bishops to fall in with the plans of Victor, and the remonstrances which they addressed to him; as well as from the determination of the Churches of Asia Minor to abide by their own customs, contrary to the practice of all the rest of Christendom. It has been said, indeed, that the question was merely one of ceremony, not of doctrine, implying that the bishop of Rome was supreme in matters of faith, although evidently not so with reference to religious observances and customs; but the fact is (as we have

seen) that it was on the very ground of ‘heterodoxy’ that Victor rested the quarrel ; and it is certain that he had no universal authority in any ecclesiastical matter whatever.”—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 44—9.

There is one rather serious omission in this summary of the transaction, which we cannot overlook, and which we cannot help considering significant of Mr. Riddle’s views. He mentions the various councils which were held in different parts of the Church, to deliberate on the celebration of Easter. But he suppresses the fact that the most important of all these (that of Polycrates himself) is expressly stated to have been convened at the call of Victor ; and that, as all were held simultaneously, and as parts of the same general movement, the same may be presumed of all the rest. Now, even without insisting that the word by which Polycrates describes Victor’s having called upon him to summon the council (*ηγιεώσατε*) might naturally enough imply an authoritative command, yet it is at least a circumstance too important to be lightly suppressed, that it was Victor who took the initiative in this important movement, and that it was through his influence, and at his desire, the whole Church was put into motion, and these various councils, in the most distant provinces, and even in distinct patriarchates, were called simultaneously into action. Even Mr. Robertson, although he represents the assembling of the councils as the free act of the bishops themselves, yet admits that it was brought about at Victor’s desire, and through his instigation.

In other respects, his account of the affair is substantially the same with that of Mr. Riddle. And his general reasoning upon the result is equally adverse to Roman claims.

“It is hardly necessary,” he says, “to observe, that the attempt to press this affair into the service of the later papal claims is singularly unfortunate. The arrogance and violence of Victor are indeed undeniable ; but his pretensions were far short of those set up by his successors. The assembling of the councils, although it took place at his request, was the free act of the local bishops ; he was unceremoniously rebuked for his measures ; there is no token of deference to him as a superior ; and his designs were utterly foiled.”—Robertson’s History of the Christian Church, p. 69.

We cannot delay to enter into a formal examination of this very flippant paragraph. It will be enough to remind

the reader how oddly it contrasts in many particulars with the narrative of Eusebius, of which it professes to be a summary. Mr. Robertson must have strangely forgotten his own admission, made a few lines earlier, that these various councils, independent of each other as they were, in Palestine, in Pontus, in Greece, in Osrhoene, and in Gaul, had all met at Victor's desire, when he asserted, as he does here, that there is in the affair "no token of deference to him as a superior;" and his assertion that Victor was "*unceremoniously rebuked* for his measures," is, we are forced to say, a very free paraphrase, at the least, of Eusebius's *καθηκόντως παραπει* ("becomingly exhorts.")

But we shall not dwell on these things, our principal concern being with another statement, which is made by both these writers in common.

We shall transcribe the statement as it stands in Mr. Riddle's work. The same sentiment is repeated, less in detail, by Mr. Robertson.\*

"One point there is, however, of considerable importance in our present inquiry, which has been extremely misunderstood by both Romanist and Protestant writers. It has been set in a right light by Mosheim, and deserves our especial attention. Nothing has been more common with ecclesiastical historians than to speak of Victor as having on this occasion 'excommunicated' the Churches of Asia Minor, that term being applied to the transaction in the full modern sense of the expression; and hence Romanists, on the one hand, have affirmed the antiquity of their Church's authority, while Protestants, on the other, have denounced the enormity of its usurpation. Now, an attentive reader of the foregoing statement, in which I have closely followed Eusebius, who is the great authority on this subject, must have already seen that such a view of the case is far from being correct. Victor did not excommunicate,—he did not even pretend to a power of excommunicating,—from the whole Church; he merely declared that his own Church should not hold communion with the Churches of Asia Minor; and he endeavoured to persuade the bishops of other Churches to adopt a similar measure. In this attempt he failed; and, had he succeeded, while the result would have proved that he possessed a preponderating influence, yet the very attempt itself would have included a confession of the absence of supreme authority on his part. He displayed a domineering spirit, and he manifestly stretched beyond due measure that power which each community possessed of excluding unworthy members, or of declaring with whom it was willing to hold

communion ; but he did not even attempt to usurp a power of governing other Churches. Such attempts, and eventually such usurpation, were reserved for later days ; and the history of Victor's proceedings in the paschal controversy remains on record as a proof that at the close of the second century there was not even the assumption of authority by the bishops of Rome beyond the limits of Italy."—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 49—50.

The great point on which Mr. Riddle insists in this singular paragraph, and on which he undertakes to set right all those who have gone before him, is the real nature of the act of excommunication attempted by Victor in reference to the Asiatic "Quarto-decimans." He vehemently denies that Victor excommunicates them *from the whole church* ; he even contends that Victor did not *pretend to a power* of excommunicating from the whole Church. The whole extent of his proceeding, according to Mr. Riddle, was to "declare that *his own church* should not hold communion with the Churches of Asia Minor."

Mr. Robertson explains the act in precisely the same way, as "an imperious letter, cutting off the Asiatics from the communion of Rome." (p. 68.)

Now whatever may be said as to the actual results of Victor's proceeding, no one can read the narrative of Eusebius, (our only source of information in the matter,) without seeing that the Pope intended far more than to cut off the Asiatic Churches from the communion of his own individual Church of Rome.\* The words which the historian uses, might almost seem to have been selected for the purpose of excluding any such possible interpretation as that affixed to them by Mr. Riddle. It is not merely that he does not in any way allude to an exclusion from the particular communion of Victor's own Church; but he actually speaks in express terms of "*cutting off from the common unity;*" (*ἀποτέμειν της κοινῆς ἐνώσεως*); and he describes the letter of Victor as proclaiming the Churches of Asia not merely separated from the "*private communion of his own Church,*" but as "*utterly excommunicated*" [*ἀκοινωνήτες αρέγην*.]\*

\* We shall transcribe the entire passage :

Ἐπὶ ταύταις ὁ μὲν τῶν Ρώμαίων προεστὸς Βίκτωρ, ἀδρόως της Ασίας πασῆς αμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικας αποτέμειν ὡς επεροδοξουσας τῆς κοινῆς ενώσεως πειραται. Καὶ στηλετενει γε διά γραμμάτων ακοινωνήτες αρέγην παντας της εκείσεως ανακρυπτων αδέλφης. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. 24. Histor. Eccles. Scriptores. [Valois Ed.] T. i. p. 156.

It may be alleged, to be sure, that Victor indeed intended and desired that the Asiatics should be entirely cut off from the Church; but that he did not attempt to effect this by *his own* official authority, or by his own particular act, but simply, as Mr. Riddle writes, by "endeavouring to persuade *the other bishops* to adopt a similar measure;" or in Mr. Robertson's phrase, "by endeavouring to procure a like condemnation of them from the other branches of the Universal Church." Now we need only point to the express language of Eusebius in order to exclude any such explanation. The purport of Victor's letter was not to induce the other bishops to join in the excommunication, or to procure from the other bishops a similar condemnation; but simply to "pronounce" or "proclaim" the Asiatic Churches "entirely excluded from communion," [αρδην ακοινωνητονς ανακρυπτων.]

That such was the intention of Victor, as explained by Eusebius, no reasonable man can doubt. And, therefore, to confine the proceeding with Mr. Robertson to a mere act of withdrawal of private communion, or still more to assert, as Mr. Riddle does, that the Pope did not even pretend to the right of excommunication from the whole Church, is palpably to pervert the whole tenor of the history.

That Victor, therefore, at least, pretended to this right, it is impossible to deny, and to assert or insinuate the contrary is a most substantial and, we cannot help adding, a very disingenuous misrepresentation of the facts of this celebrated case. We are far from intending to imply that the mere pretension on Victor's part would in itself, and in the abstract, be conclusive as to the justice of his claim. But we do contend that, even in the abstract, the pretension itself is exceedingly important, and that, taken in connection with the circumstances, it is absolutely conclusive against the view which these writers attempt to sustain. It may be said, it is true, that "he failed to obtain the general concurrence of the Churches," or as Mr. Robertson chooses to express it, that "he was utterly foiled in his measures." But it would argue great unacquaintance with the history of the Church, not to know that a failure such as this is perfectly compatible with the existence, and even with the recognition, of full authority upon his part.

It is particularly worthy of note that, in the account given by Eusebius of the opposition which Victor encoun-

tered from certain of the bishops in this matter, there is not a single word to convey that any of them *called his authority into question*. We are told that the proceeding “did not please all the bishops;” that they “exhorted him against it,” [αντιπαρακελένονται]; that some of them “animadverted rather severely upon him.”\* [πληκτικώτερον κυθαπτούσιν.] But this is all. It is not said that any of them questioned his right of interference, or denied his power to excommunicate. They merely *dissuaded him from exercising it*. They exhorted him to “that course which was calculated to promote peace, and unity, and brotherly love.” And it is perfectly plain from the letter of Irenæus, that what *he* questioned was, not the authority of Victor, but the prudence and expediency of its exercise in this particular instance. The points upon which he dwells are drawn exclusively from this consideration;—from the antiquity of the tradition to which the dissentients cling; from its being a matter of “form,” [ειδος,]; and from the example of the earlier bishops, who had differed in this form, and yet had maintained peace and communion. In all this, there is not a word, even to insinuate a denial of that authority, on the assumption of which the act of Victor was founded. On the contrary, it is clearly implied in the selection of such motives of exhortation as these. Had the case been otherwise—had the ground of the excommunication been of a more important character—had the usage of the Asiatics been a novel one, and not resting on an ancient tradition—had it been a substantial departure from the faith, and not merely a thing of outward observance—had there not been the precedent of former bishops of Rome for its toleration, Irenæus would have freely acquiesced in the proceeding of Victor.

It is not a little remarkable, too, that the precedents which he quotes are exclusively those of Roman bishops, Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, and Telesphorus, and

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\* As Eusebius has not given any of these letters, with the sole exception of that of Irenæus, it is not easy to know what idea he may have attached to this phrase. But there is nothing in it which requires us to suppose that the suppressed letters contained any denial of Victor's authority. On the contrary, the letter of Irenæus, which is given as a sample of them all, [ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος] supposes, and, at least by implication proves, the recognition of such an authority, as we shall presently see.

Xystus; as if the precedent would have been incomplete had any others been selected but bishops who were invested with the same powers which Victor himself might claim to possess.

Now, will any man believe that, if this claim of Victor had been new, and until then unheard of; if to use Mr. Riddle's words, "up to the close of the second century there had been not even the assumption of authority by the bishops of Rome beyond the limits of Italy;" this would have been the tone adopted by the remonstrants? Would they not have risen at once against the claim itself, and denounced it as an arrogant usurpation? Would they have confined themselves to "dissuasive exhortations," or even to "severe animadversions?" Would Irenæus have been content with an appeal to his love of peace and charity, or to the peaceful precedent established by the conduct of his predecessors? Would he not rather at once have denied his authority, and rebuked him for his presumption? Still more, would not the historian himself, (who, be it remembered, was a Greek, and no friend to "Roman pretensions,") have made it plain by his narrative, that the claim set up by Victor was new and unexampled—a departure from the established usage of the Christian communities at the time—an intolerable invasion of the independence of local and national Churches, and, on this account, justly and rightfully resisted and defeated by the better sense and feeling of his contemporaries?

It may be urged on the other side, that the recognition or non-recognition of Victor's claim is best judged by the result, and that the result is decisive against it. On the one hand "the Asiatic Churches abided by their own customs;" on the other, "other bishops refused to fall in with Victor's plans." "He was utterly foiled in his measures."

But, in the first place, we have already said, that to resist authority is one thing, to deny and repudiate it is another. And even were it otherwise, the resistance of the Quartodecimans would no more disprove the papal authority than the resistance of the Arians would overthrow that of the Council of Nice.

In the second place, we repeat that there is no evidence whatever in the narrative of Eusebius, that the "other bishops" of whom he speaks offered any "resistance," in the strict sense of the word, to the decree of Victor. It "did not please them," it is true. They "remonstrated

against it ;” some of them perhaps “animadverted severely” upon its inexpediency. But the only sample of the remonstrances which the historian thought it necessary to preserve, is one so “becoming,” [προσηκόντως] so respectful, so clearly provisional and suspensive in its nature, and so entirely free from all taint of rebellion, that the most zealous ultramontane even at the present day, and with all the adventitious reverence which now attaches to his person, might address it to the Roman Pontiff in similar circumstances, without a shadow of offence.

We have entered thus at length into this question, less on account of any decisive bearing which it has upon the historical enquiry, than with a view to showing, from this particular instance, the spirit in which these writers deal with the subject generally. It is not with their conclusions from it that we are disposed to quarrel. Mr. Riddle is perfectly at liberty to pronounce as his own verdict on the matter, that “it is quite clear that the bishop of Rome was not at this time regarded as the universal head of the Church ;” (p. 48.) that “he did not even attempt to usurp a power of governing other Churches.” (p. 50.) Mr. Robertson may hold as he pleases, that “the attempt to press this affair into the service of the papal claims is singularly unfortunate.” (p. 69.) Of these, as individual opinions, however we may dissent from them, we have no wish to complain.

But what we do complain of is, that while these writers profess to lay before their readers the means of forming a judgment of the facts for themselves, they suppress many most important particulars calculated to influence that judgment most materially.

We complain that Mr. Riddle suppresses altogether the fact, that the numerous councils simultaneously held in almost every part of the Church, were called together at the request, (at least, if not the command, for ηξιωσατε might not unnaturally bear this meaning,) of Victor, and that Mr. Robertson, gratuitously, and without a shadow of foundation in the narrative, asserts that their assembling “was a voluntary act of the local bishops.”

We complain that both of them put prominently forward the *severe rebuke* of Victor, attributed to certain of the bishops; and yet both suppress the qualifying phrase, “*becomingly*,” which is used by Eusebius with reference to the remonstrance of Irenæus.

We complain further that both of them urge (and urge beyond the truth) the opposition offered to Victor by Irenæus, and yet suppress the important circumstance that, while he opposes his judgment as harsh and inexpedient, he never breathes a syllable in doubt or denial of his authority.

We complain, lastly, that they both attempt to represent what was clearly a decree of *active* excommunication—a cutting off of the Churches of Asia from communion [*ἀποτέμνειν*]—as a merely passive measure; i. e., a withdrawal of the communion of the particular Church of Rome from these dissentients from the common practice of Christendom.

And in all this, the unfairness and dishonesty is made doubly dishonest by the assurance which Mr. Riddle does not hesitate to append, that “he has closely followed Eusebius, who is the great authority on the subject.”

We must say, moreover, that this is not a solitary instance. The same system of suppression pervades all the really important questions which arise in this portion of the history of the Roman Church.

Thus, to take the well-known history of Pope Stephen's interference in the affairs of the deposed bishops of Spain and Gaul. Mr. Robertson never alludes to the subject of Stephen's interposition at all; although he actually refers to the cases of those very bishops, in order to show that every individual bishop was charged with the care of the whole Church.\* And if Mr. Riddle escapes the imputation of suppressing the facts altogether, it is only to fall under the still more serious charge of mis-stating and mis-construing the circumstances by which they were attended.

The following is his account of the very important case of Marcian, Bishop of Arles.

“At the beginning of Stephen's episcopate we find Cyprian consulting him with reference to a matter which had been submitted to his own judgment by certain Gallican bishops. The case was this. Marcian, bishop of Arles, having adopted the principles of Novatian, Faustinus of Lyons and other Gallican bishops addressed letters at once to Cyprian and to Stephen, requesting their advice

\* P. 147, note. In this note he does not even mention the name of the Roman Pontiff.

as to the course of conduct to be pursued with a view to the deposition of the offenders. In these epistles, there is no recognition of any authority on the part of the bishops of Rome and Carthage; the communication is simply between colleagues and friends. But here it must be remarked, that this practice of making reference or appeals to Rome, while it by no means supports the argument which the advocates of papal claims would found upon it,—inasmuch as the same appeals were made to other bishops besides the Roman,—was yet undoubtedly employed by the leaders of the Roman Church as an occasion for assuming an authority, and exercising a jurisdiction, which did not belong to them. Advantage was taken of the disorders, dissensions, or misfortunes of distant Churches, to proceed from giving advice to interference in the arrangement of their affairs; and these acts of interference were such as to contribute to the establishment of dominion. The sins of the several Churches contributed to the great sin of spiritual despotism on the part of Rome; and it will be seen that, in this way, as well as in others, the usurpations of that see were more or less a result of the general absence or decline of vital Christianity throughout the Church. The Papacy is a worm which breeds in spiritual corruption, and fattens upon Christianity when turning to decay.

"While the reference thus made to Rome and Carthage shows the position which these two Churches occupied with regard to the smaller communities of the West, it is also remarkable that Cyprian did not venture to send his reply without previously consulting his colleague at Rome; and he assigns as a reason for this measure, that Rome ought to have precedence of Carthage on account of its magnitude. We shall see hereafter that it was indeed only precedence which Cyprian conceded to the Roman bishop; but nothing can be more clear than that he asserted for his 'colleague Stephan' the primacy among bishops on all occasions, in which several were required or disposed to act in concert. In his estimation the bishop of Rome occupied the chair of Peter in the principal Church of Christendom. And on the present occasion he urges the bishop of Rome to take the lead in preserving the 'unity of the Church,' by advising the Gallican bishops to excommunicate Marcian, with an assurance that both Rome and Carthage would support them in this measure."—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 82—3.

We shall not stop to observe, that this is one of the passages on which Mr. Riddle calls in the aid of Mr. Shepherd's scepticism as to the genuineness of the Epistles of Cyprian. What we complain of is the disingenuous version which he gives of the letter of Cyprian to the Pope. According to his version of this very important letter, Cyprian simply "urged the Bishop of Rome to take the lead in preserving the unity of the Church, by *advising the Gal-*

*lican Bishops to excommunicate Marcian.*" Now it is hardly possible to imagine a more complete perversion of the meaning of the original letter.

"Dirigantur a te," St. Cyprian writes to Stephen, "in provinciam et ad plebem Arelati consistentem literæ quibus, abstento Marciano, aliis in locum ejus substituatur."

"Let a letter be directed by thee into the province and to the people of Arles, by which (letter), Marcian being set aside, another may be substituted in his place."

So that the deposition of Marcian, and the substitution of another in his stead, is *expressly attributed to Stephen's letter*; and thus, instead of Cyprian's urging Stephen, as Mr. Riddle represents, to "advise the Gallican Bishops to excommunicate Marcian, with an assurance that *Rome and Carthage* would support them in this measure," he expressly calls on Stephen to do this in *his own person, and by the authority of his own letter*; hereby recognizing in Stephen power, not only to set a heretical bishop aside by his single authority, but even to appoint another in his place, in virtue of the same prerogative.

And yet Mr. Riddle parades at the foot of his page the very epistle from which this passage is taken, and of which he professes to give the substance in his text!

We may instance the case of Pope Julius's interposition in the contest between St. Athanasius and his Arian antagonists, as an equally glaring example of unfaithful and one-sided narrative.

Mr. Robertson, in recording the transaction, contents himself with the meagre statement that the charges against Athanasius "were carried to Rome by a deputation of the Eusebian clergy, but were met by some emissaries of Athanasius, who were provided with a synodical letter, attesting his merits and his innocence." (p. 201.) He adds that "Julius, who had succeeded to the Roman See in 357, was influenced by these representations, and proposed that the case should be referred to a synod, at which both parties should be confronted." In a subsequent paragraph, he continues; "Athanasius then betook himself to Rome, where a synod of fifty bishops pronounced him innocent, and confirmed to him the communion of the Church. Other expelled bishops also appeared before the council, among whom was Marcellus of Ancyra, who had resumed his see on the death of Con-

stantine, but had been again dispossessed of it. He satisfied Julius and his brethren that the charges of heresy on which he had been deprived, were founded on misapprehension. A correspondence followed between Julius and the Eastern bishops, but without any satisfactory result.”

—Robertson, p. 203.

Mr. Riddle's account of the affair is somewhat more detailed.

“The Arians having obtained favour at the court of Constantius, Athanasius found himself compelled to use great efforts for the maintenance of his position, in defence of the doctrines established at Nicaea. He assembled a council of about one hundred Egyptian bishops, which defended him against the charges urged against him by the Eusebian party, and retorted on them by accusations of various acts of injustice and oppression. Hereupon the Eusebians had recourse in self-defence to other bishops, and especially to Julius, bishop of Rome, entreating him to convene a council for the consideration of the matter in debate, and proposing that he should act as judge or umpire. Julius consented, and Athanasius, after having answered the accusations of the Eusebians by deputies, complied with the request of Julius to appear in person before him. Thus did the quarrels of foreign Churches contribute, from time to time, to the undue elevation of the Roman see.

“The influence of the bishop of Rome must have been greatly augmented by the presence of Athanasius, the head of an extensive and renowned metropolitan see, who came to confront his accusers in a council over which the bishop of Rome presided, and to await the decision of that tribunal. The bishop of Constantinople and others were at the same time attracted from the East, with a view to urge their own complaints against the Eusebian party, and to obtain a decision in their favour. The verdict was in favour of Athanasius and his friends; and Julius wrote a letter to his ‘dear brethren,’ the bishops of the Eusebian party, declaring the judgment of the Italian bishops in council assembled, and entreating them to repair the breach of unity which had been occasioned by the deposition of unoffending bishops. Such, at least, is the account of the epistle of Julius, as given by Athanasius himself; but, according to Socrates and Sozomen, it was conceived in a sharper tone, extending even to the language of severe reproof and threatening. It is to be observed, however, that their report of the matter rests upon inferior and uncertain authority.

“Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, having been condemned as a heretic, and placed on a par with Sabellius and Paul of Samosata by the Eusebians in the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, appealed to Julius, bishop of Rome, and requested him to convene a council for the trial of his cause. The council was convened accordingly;

accusers of Marcellus, who had been invited to confront him, did not appear, and the bishop was pronounced orthodox.

"Athanasius was afterwards obliged to repair to Rome for his personal safety, in consequence of the disturbance which took place at Alexandria, when, under the sanction of Constantius, Gregory was put in possession of the see."—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 132—4.

Such is the narrative of the celebrated appeal of Athanasius and his party to Pope Julius and the bishops of Italy, which these writers have submitted to the student of the early history of the Papacy! We could hardly have believed it possible to carry the principle of "ignoring" to so sweeping an extent.

Mr. Riddle does not even mention the celebrated Epistle of Julius to the Eusebian bishops! Mr. Robertson simply refers to it under the vague name of "a correspondence between Julius and the eastern bishops, without any satisfactory result!" Neither the one nor the other even hints at the claims which this remarkable letter puts forward on behalf of the Roman See; and puts forward, not as of human institution, but as "the ordinances of Paul," learned from "the blessed apostle, Peter," and "founded on the teaching of the Fathers;" not as of obscure and recent origin, but as known to all.\*

Both Mr. Riddle and Mr. Robertson, although they allude to the restoration of Athanasius and Marcellus in their sees, carefully suppress all notice of the part taken by Julius in restoring them. Where the historian Socrates expressly attributes to this very correspondence the authoritative re-establishment of Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, Lucius of Adrianople, and other bishops in their respective sees, Mr. Robertson thinks it enough to say that "a correspondence ensued between Julius and the Eastern Bishops, but without any satisfactory result." (p. 203) Where Socrates, having stated that Athanasius and the other unjustly-deposed bishops "betoak themselves to Rome and informed Julius, the Bishop of the Romans, of their condition," goes on to say that Julius, "*inasmuch as the Roman Church enjoyed a privilege beyond all the rest*, earnestly espoused their cause, and sent a letter to the East, himself restoring and giving back [*αποδίδεις*] to each of them his own see, and severely reprehended

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\* See the whole letter in Constant's *Epistolæ Rom. Pontif.* p. 385.

those who had rashly ejected them.” \* Mr. Robertson, suppressing all notice of the special part ascribed to Julius, contents himself with coldly recording that Athanasius “ betook himself to Rome, where a synod of fifty bishops prononnced him innocent, and confirmed to him the communion of the Church !”

It is difficult to conceive a more flagrant act of misrepresentation. Yet we doubt whether Mr. Riddle’s mode of dealing with the same subject is much less unworthy of a candid historian. In the passage which we have quoted from him above, he attempts to evade the necessity of quoting the unpalatable testimony of Socrates to the authority of the Roman See, by selecting in preference to the evidence of Socrates that of Athanasius himself; although, be it observed, the language of Athanasius is by no means inconsistent with that of the historian. Had he been content with this, perhaps we should not have complained. But even while he refers to the account given of the transaction by Socrates and Sozomen, and endeavours to depreciate the value of their authority, he carefully suppresses all allusion to the nature of their testimony to the pre-eminence of Rome, and to the Pope’s authoritative interposition in restoring Athanasius by his own letter, and merely refers to them as recording that Julius’s letter was “ conceived in a sharper tone, and extended even to the language of severe reproof and threatening !”

And this, although he cites in a foot-note, the very book and chapter from which the above extract is taken !

In the same uncandid spirit, where Socrates, as we have seen, describes Julius as actually himself giving back (*αποδίδεις*) his see to Marcellus of Ancyra; and where Sozomen, to the same statement, adds the still more important commentary, that it was “ *because, on account of the dignity of his see, the care of all belonged to him,* ” † Mr. Riddle throws the Pope out of view altogether; never once alludes to his action in the affair of Marcellus;

\* The effect of this passage is lost unless it be read entire, in the words of Socrates himself. Hist. Ecc. II. cap. 15. Scriptor. Hist. Eccles. II. p. 76. Valois Ed.

† Οὐα τῆς πάντων κηδεμονίας αυτῷ προσηκοσής, διὰ την αξιαν τε θρόνου ἐκαστική την ἔδιαν ἐκκλήσιαν ἀπεδώκε. Sozom. Hist. Ecc. III. 8. Scriptor. Hist. Eccl. II. p. 413.

never once informs his reader that any part of the result was due to his authoritative interference ; but simply assures him that “the council was convened ; the accusers of Marcellus, who had been invited to confront him, did not appear, and the bishop was pronounced orthodox !”

We cannot dwell farther upon this portion of the subject ; but we may once for all observe, that the same spirit pervades the whole of Mr. Riddle’s narrative regarding the early Papacy. He never once alludes to the remarkable testimony which the pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, bears to the superior authority of the “bishops of the Eternal City.”\* He passes over the remarkable proceedings in the case of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, and in that of John, bishop of the same see. His account of the so-called Meletian schism is most uncritical and one-sided. In a word, through every step of the history, there is a clear and sustained determination, not only to represent the papal claim as a usurpation, but to distort, suppress, or evade, every shred of contrary evidence.

And when he comes at last to the period in which it is no longer practicable to ignore its existence altogether, he has recourse to the most despicable special pleading, in order to neutralize what is impossible to evade. Without pretending to enter into any detailed discussion of the facts, we shall extract a few specimens of his manner of dealing with the papacy of the fourth century. Finding it impossible to escape from the well known Decretal Letters of Pope Siricius,† he denounces them as a ‘usurpation.’

“After the death of Damasus the party of Ursicinus endeavoured in vain to procure his succession to the see ; the emperor, Valentinian II., confirmed the election of Siricius. An epistle of this bishop is remarkable at once as constituting the oldest genuine portion of the canon law, and as containing a specimen of the increasingly haughty pretensions of the Romish see. Himerius, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, had written to Damasus, requesting his own opinion and that of the Roman clergy upon certain points of Church discipline. Siricius read this letter to his clergy ; and sent back an answer in which he prescribed various regulations of discipline in a *right dictatorial style*. In particular, he strongly condemned the conduct of those among the clergy who had continued to live with their wives whom they had married before their ordination, and who had justified their practice by the example of

\* Lib. lxv. cap. vii. p. 70.

† Constant., 623—99.

priests and Levites under the old dispensation; and he ordered all who should claim such right on these grounds to be *deposed from their offices in the Church by authority of the apostolic see*. He also laid down a rule that, henceforth, in Spain, the baptism of adults should take place only at Easter and Whitsuntide; adding a threat that any of the clergy who should refuse to comply with this regulation should ‘be torn off from that firm apostolical rock on which Christ had built His Church.’ And he *distinctly affirmed that Rome was ‘the head’ of the Church in Spain*.

“Other events of the episcopate of Siricius may be thus summed up in the words of a modern writer. ‘The power of the Church of Rome over the Catholic Church was still further extended by this bishop, by a decree which he procured from a council summoned at Rome, which ordained that *none should presume to consecrate a bishop without the knowledge and consent of the apostolic see*. Many, indeed, believe this decree to be spurious. Whether it be so or not, it is of very early date, and must have been forged in the name of Siricius soon after this period. The question is discussed in the notes to Bower.—A yet further exercise of the incipient papal power characterised the present period. Jovinian, the learned and exemplary friend of Jerome, having embraced certain opinions respecting the mother of Christ which Jerome condemned, Siricius summoned a council at Rome to condemn them also. When they did so, he excommunicated him and his friends. Jovinian appealed to Ambrose at Milan. The papal mandate followed him to that city, and procured his expulsion. The emperor Honorius condemned Jovinian and his coadjutors to be punished with whips armed with lead. So early did the cruelties of the ecclesiastical power, calling on the civil power, begin to torment the most spiritual and eminent Christians.....’”—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 147—9.

Equally cool and self-satisfied is the tone in which he dismisses the letters and decrees of Pope Innocent.

“Anastasius was followed by Innocent I., who held the see for fifteen years, and displayed unexampled boldness in pushing forward the claims of the Roman see, and in demanding universal submission to his assumed authority.

“It appears that (if the Epistles be genuine) many bishops wrote to Innocent, requesting a report of certain particulars of discipline as practised in the Roman Church, for their own guidance; in reply to which, he repeated and even extended the injunctions of his predecessor Siricius concerning clerical abstinence from connubial intercourse,—declared it to be incumbent on all the Western Churches to conform to the pattern of that of Rome, or, which amounts to the same thing, to the precepts of the apostle Peter,—and said that disputes among the clergy should be decided in a pro-

vincial council, but that the *principal cases must be laid before the apostolic see.*"—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 151—2.

Some of these letters he recites in detail.

"In 412, Innocent nominated Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, as his vicar in Eastern Illyricum. No appointment of this kind, so definite and express, had hitherto taken place in any communications which had been made by the bishops of Rome to those of Thessalonica: and therefore, strictly speaking, we may date the first appointment of Roman vicars in Illyricum from this time. Innocent declared that, by favour of the apostolic see, the bishop of Thessalonica was permitted to exercise jurisdiction in his province,—to hear causes, together with such bishops as he might choose for his assessors,—and to pronounce judgment in the name of the bishop of Rome.

"To certain Macedonian bishops who wrote to him concerning points of discipline, Innocent returned a haughty reply, in which he expressed his astonishment that they should again consult the apostolic chair, the head of the Church, on points which it had already determined.

"Writing to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium (now Gubio, in the Papal States), Innocent represented it as a duty incumbent upon *all Western Churches to conform to the customs and institutions of the Church of Rome*, because, as he falsely assumed, all Churches in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the neighbouring islands, were founded by those, and those alone, who had been made priests by Peter, the chief of the apostles, or by his successors in the see of Rome.—'In his answer, towards the end of his episcopate, to the bishops of the Council of Carthage, Innocent affirms that *all ecclesiastical matters throughout the world are, by divine right, to be referred to the apostolic see* before they are finally decided in the provinces. This bold and novel claim was instantly rejected, though in respectful language, by the African bishops. They had condemned Pelagius and Cælestius without consulting Innocent. They wrote to him, according to the custom then prevalent among all bishops, to inform him of their decision, and to require his sanction of their conduct. Innocent asserts the supremacy of his see. They reply by denying that supremacy, and declare their wish to be, that he should act with them by confirming their decision by his authority, as he ought to do. Innocent, in his reply, evades the question whether they ought to have consulted him before they condemned Pelagius, by affirming that they had done well by observing the ordinances of the Fathers in referring for a final conclusion to the apostolic see; and he then excommunicated Pelagius as the African bishops had done. In this conduct he sets the example, too, of the subtle manner in which Rome, when resisted, compromises disputes without withdrawing its pretensions or offending,

unless it can do so with impunity. One of the principal novelties in the letters of this bishop is found in that to Alexander, bishop of Antioch. He affirms that the Synod of Nicæa honoured Antioch, not for the greatness of the see, but because St. Peter had his see first in that city. Another novelty introduced by Innocent was the foundation of much of the subsequent presumptions of the bishop of Rome. He decided, in his letter to the same bishop, that when a province is divided by the emperor, there shall still be one metropolitan, and that the Church be not altered at the discretion of the emperors. This seems to have been the first edict of a Christian bishop which ventured to declare the decisions of an ecclesiastic to be independent of the will of a prince. The decree of Innocent was an usurpation upon the united authority, both of the general or provincial synods, which were accustomed so frequently to meet, and on the authority also of the emperors, by whom alone they had been hitherto summoned. A most singular remark occurs also in one of the decrees or letters of this bishop; he declares that the priests who have departed from the Catholic faith have lost the Holy Spirit, which operates chiefly in ordination. The theory seems now to have begun to prevail which makes ordination by a bishop the sole channel of a peculiar grace. In a letter to the bishops and deacons of Macedonia he calls the apostolical see the head of the Churches. This language was the beginning of the assumption which has ended in declaring Rome to be the mother and mistress of all Churches, and out of which there is no salvation. The affirmations of these earlier bishops of Rome, in the course of a few centuries, became each in its turn an antiquity from which precedents were drawn to justify every claim to power over the authority and independence of Churches, over the rights of princes, or over the consciences of individuals. Innocent also enforces, by numerous decrees, the celibacy of the clergy, and condemns, under the penalty of not being admitted to repentance, the woman who vows virginity, and afterwards marries. In this, and in many other enactments, the germ of the future power of the bishops of Rome is discoverable. It is the tendency of all power to enlarge itself as much as possible. The usurpations of Rome were slow, cautious, gradual, and, in many instances, useful progressions of active, sometimes pious, sometimes crafty, but always ambitious, authority, unsuccessfully resisted by its contemporaries, till it wielded the sceptre over reason, civilization, and Scripture. But to none of its earlier bishops is the see of Rome more deeply indebted for its eventual greatness and dominion than to Innocent I. The very pagans, who sought in the invasion of Alaric to propitiate their ancient deities, solicited his sanction to their proceedings. He was honoured by the emperor, esteemed by his contemporaries, beloved by the people who had unanimously chosen him to be their bishop; and he employed all his great influence to the establishment of the supremacy of Rome, which he appears to have considered essential to the hou-

our of Christianity and the general benefit of the Churches,'"—History of the Papacy, vol. i. pp. 153—6.

We must find room for one further extract, that in which the progress of the "encroachment" under the Popes Sixtus and Leo is described.

"Cælestinus was succeeded by Sixtus III., who earnestly endeavoured to rivet the fetters which had already been forged for the bishops of Eastern Illyricum. These bishops were by no means so willing to part with their independence as the bishops of Rome were to deprive them of it; their subordination to the Roman see, in the person of the bishop of Thessalonica as a deputy, or vicar, was an innovation which had not been sanctioned by any General Council, and which they themselves had not formally recognised. But these things were treated with indifference by the bishops of Rome, who now began to regard it as their province rather to give laws than to wait for or observe them. Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, having died in 431, Sixtus invested his successor Anastasius with the same authority over the bishops of Illyricum which had been committed to and exercised by his predecessor, and demanded the compliance of Perigenes, bishop of Corinth, who had withheld the usurpation. The Illyrian bishops were declared by Sixtus not bound to obey the decrees of any eastern council without the ratification of the Roman see,—a decree directed, perhaps especially, against a canon of a General Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), which enacted that no bishop should assume authority in a province that had not always belonged to his diocese, 'in order that the liberty which Christ had purchased with His blood might not be gradually lost.'

"Hitherto the progress of Romish despotism had not been assisted by any distinguished abilities on the part of those who successively occupied the so-called chair of St. Peter. But, after the death of Sixtus, the management of the rising monarchy was intrusted to a man whose personal genius and skill contributed not a little to establish and advance its pretensions.

"Leo, as a Roman deacon or archdeacon, had already become so distinguished by his power of persuasion, and his skilful management of affairs, that he had been despatched by Valentinian III. into Gaul, to mediate between the rivals Aetius and Albinus; and he was absent on that mission when he was recalled to succeed Sixtus in the bishopric of Rome, to which he had been unanimously elected by the clergy and people. On his assumption of office, he delivered an eloquent sermon, in which he declared the preaching of the word to be one of his most sacred and important duties. Ninety-six (genuine) sermons of Leo are extant. He always preached on the anniversary of his accession; and in these sermons he speaks much of his own unworthiness, which, however, is always coupled

with the mention of St. Peter, whose successor he declared himself to be, and whose authority he commands to universal respect, as admitting of no infringement. In his sermon on the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, Leo speaks of Rome as ‘the holy and elect people, the priestly and royal city, which has become the head of the world through the holy chair of St. Peter, and has a far more extended dominion by means of the Christian religion than by its earthly power.’ The praise of eloquence has been too lavishly bestowed upon these sermons; but they are remarkable on account of the pretensions which they contain, and as being the earliest extant examples of homiletical discourses by a Roman bishop.”—*History of the Papacy*, vol. i. pp. 170—2.

We have been led on, step by step, to a far greater length than we had at first contemplated, and we are now compelled to draw abruptly to a close. But we have said enough, and more than enough, to show the narrow and uncandid spirit in which, notwithstanding the supposed advance of the science of historical criticism, Protestant historians, even still, approach the consideration of any of those great historical questions upon which they have learned to entertain early and inveterate prejudices.

There is one aspect of the argument, however, which we have altogether overlooked, but upon which, although it is now too late to think of entering fully into it, we must briefly advert before we have done. We refer to an assumption upon which the whole Protestant view of the history of the Papacy is formed. It is more markedly prominent in Mr. Riddle’s narrative than in most of the later historians; but the assumption, in a more or less subtle form, pervades them all. Mr. Riddle avowedly proceeds upon the assumption that the claims of the modern Papacy are a usurpation. He contents himself, accordingly, with denying the existence of any analogous pretensions in the primitive Church. He shelters himself in a negative position; and, under his favourite illustration of “the fog,” thinks it enough to maintain that, as long as no trace of what he considers the observation can be detected in the ecclesiastical atmosphere during the earliest phases of the Church’s existence, it is to be presumed that it was one of those exhalations which arose at a later and more corrupt stage of her history.

In other words, Mr. Riddle claims to throw the burden of proof upon the papal advocate.

Now it is scarcely necessary to say that no Catholic will assent to this gratuitous claim, and that no philosophical

historian will tolerate it even as an assumption. It would be a long, though not a difficult task, to detail all the arguments against it, even so considered ; and we allude to it merely in the way of protest, and lest we should appear in what we have already written, to suffer this important point to go by default.

It is enough to say that every candid historian represents the Papacy of the fourth (or at farthest of the fifth) century as already in possession of the substantial prerogatives of what Catholics regard as the primacy ; and even Mr. Riddle, as we have seen, hardly denies the facts, although he endeavours to explain them as an unwarranted aggression on the independence of the Church.

Again, the enjoyment of such powers by any individual bishop, must be admitted to be directly at variance with the natural feeling of pride and independence which the individual Churches, and especially those of the more distinguished cities, are known to have cherished from the earliest times.

Finally, it is contrary to all the analogies of human nature and of history, that such a preeminence could have sprung up by a spontaneous and unresisted growth.

The very *existence*, therefore, of such an institution as the Papacy, is at least *prima-facie* evidence of its *legitimacy*. And hence, so far from the burden of proof lying upon the advocate of the Papacy, he is, on the contrary, entitled to assume its divine origin as a fact, until every particular as to its alleged human growth has been satisfactorily demonstrated.

This is a position from which the Catholic historian must never suffer himself to be seduced. It is one to which every new human revolution gives fresh strength and solidity. "When we look back upon past ages," says Hurter, "and behold how the Papacy has outlived all other institutions, how it has witnessed the rise and wane of states and kingdoms, itself amid the fluctuations of human things, preserving the selfsame unchangeable spirit, can we wonder that men look to it as to the *Rock* which rears itself unshaken amid the beating surges of time !"

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*An Essay on the Identity of the Scene of Man's Creation, Fall, and Redemption.* By the Rev. W. HENDERSON. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

THE object of this brief Essay is sufficiently expressed by its title ; and the attempt is not less ingenious than interesting. Of course the question as to the identity of the scene of our creation, fall, and restoration, is one upon which opinions will vary ; but even though our readers may be somewhat sceptical on this point, we think Mr. Henderson's Essay will not be read without interest.

II.—*Narrative of the Conquest of Finland by the Russians in the Years 1808—9.* From an unpublished Work by a Russian Officer of Rank. Edited by GENERAL MONTEITH, Madras Engineers, 8vo. London : Booth, 1854.

An able and interesting narrative of a campaign which may very soon possess a very deep interest in England. The present aspect of affairs in the Baltic may not improbably portend a series of events in the winter 1854—5, very similar to those of 1808—9, recorded in the present volume.

III.—*The Children of Mary Instructed.* By a MOTHER. Second Edition. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1854.

This little volume, which comes to us with the imprimatur of the Bishop of Plymouth, is the work of a lady equally distinguished by her rank and position in society, and by the practical religion which marks her out as especially a "Christian Mother." It is one of those charming little books which only a parent—and only a pious parent, could write ; its style being just adapted to fascinate the minds, and arrest the attention of little children. The volume, however, is one from which adults need not be ashamed to gather fruits ; the little meditations, prayers, and resolutions, with which each chapter ends, being as full of devotion and of practical theology as they are of simplicity and tenderness. It cannot fail, we

are sure, to prove a general favourite with children, as is shown from the fact that, although only published in 1852, it has already reached a second edition.

IV.—*Selections, Grave and Gay, from Writings Published and Unpublished.* By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. 8vo. Vols. i.—iii. Edinburgh : Hogg, 1853—4.

Mr. De Quincey's characteristic and prolific pen is too familiar to every reader of the current literature of the last thirty years to require any introduction at our hands. We need only say that this collected edition of his works, the only one as yet attempted in England, is executed with great elegance and taste, and will (what cannot be said of the American one which has been for some time in circulation) enjoy the advantage of the thorough correction, arrangement, and supervision of the author.

V.—*The Genius of Christianity.* By Chateaubriand. Translated by the Rev. E. O'DONNELL. Paris: Thunot and Co., 1854. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Mr. O'Donnell is already favourably known to the Catholic world as the author of a prose translation of Dante, which was noticed in our pages not long since. We have now to thank him for an equally creditable production, in the shape of Chateaubriand's celebrated work on the Spirit and Beauties of the Christian Religion, which is here for the first time given to the reader in "the vulgar tongue." Chateaubriand's treatise, appearing as it did among the closing scenes of the French Revolution, riveted the attention of the whole French nation by the magic spell of its rhetoric and poetry, as well as by the sound basis of reason upon which he based the Christian religion—the accommodation of its sacred truths, its sacraments, and its ordinances to the spiritual wants of mankind. We are glad, however, to see that Mr. O'Donnell is fully alive to the fact that 'to translate *Le Génie du Christianisme* into another language in a style equal to the original, is next to an impossibility,' and that as 'it is more than presumptuous to attempt it,' so it is also 'more than vanity to expect it.' We are prepared, therefore, to pardon some of the trifling faults of style which occur here and there in a volume consisting of nearly 400 pages,—faults into which we think Mr. O'Donnell has

been betrayed by his anxious desire to adhere as closely as may be to the original of his author,—for the sake of the vivid portraiture of Christianity which the translation, as a whole, sets before us.

It is no small merit in a translation to be able to say that it is a readable book to an ordinary Englishman. And this Mr. O'Donnell's version most certainly is. We should have liked it better, perhaps, if he had kept more closely to the English idiom in one or two particulars of tolerably frequent recurrence; e. g., the habit of retaining the French usage of the present tense in historical descriptions of past actions, which is so charming in their language, while in our own it sounds theatrical and affected. To those of our readers (if any such there be) to whom the plan and scope of the work is not familiar, we will only add, that the twelve books which it contains review in a rapid and very graphic manner, the external and internal proofs of the Christian religion, as drawn, not only from the works of nature, but from man's moral sense and consciousness,—from the excellence of Holy Scripture and the sublimity of the Church's worship and sacraments,—from her religious orders and missions to the heathen,—from the services rendered to mankind by her clergy, her orators, her historians, poets, and divines,—and from the fostering care with which she has cherished all that is sublime in printing, sculpture, and architecture.

VI.—*The Paris Catechism.* Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

We have recommended many excellent works tending to promote the true and real interests of mankind. In the Paris Catechism, we have a work of this description. It will enable those who master its contents, and carry out its principles in practice, to arrive at a state of perfection in this life, and of happiness in a future state of existence. It is a work which ought to be in the hands of every Catholic.